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ESSAYS IN THE STUDY
OF SIENESE PAINTING



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MATTEO DI GIOVANNI: MADONNA
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ESSAYS IN THE STUDY OF
SIENESE PAINTING

BY
BERNARD BERENSON



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NEW YORK
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MCMXVIII

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PREFACE

There was a time when the ardour of mere discovery made me nearly as happy at the sight of a new Sano di Pietro as of a new Piero della Francesca. Yet even then, it did not seem worth while to publish pictures like those of the good Sano and his peers, for, although excellent in their way, and exciting to come across for the first time in some out-of-the-way little hill town, such paintings tend to resemble the standardized products of a mint rather than the spontaneous creations of a changeful human spirit.

My intention throughout all my work has been, as a rule, to publish only such pictures as went rather to constitute an artistic personality hitherto un-integrated, or to extend, by showing it in a new phase, a personality already known.

And of such a nature are the papers that appear in this volume; only that never before, as in these essays, unless it be in my recent book on "Venetian Painting in America," and in my third series of "Study and Criticism of Italian Art," have I applied with such scrupulousness the test of chronology, and never have I thrown my nets so wide or been so painstaking in gathering up the facts that go towards determining a date.

In the article on "Ugolino Lorenzetti," I started out with an altarpiece regarding which we had no infor-

mation whatever. I venture to hope that I have succeeded not only in finding out just when it was designed but what are its exact affinities with the rest of Sienese Painting. Compared with that effort, the task of gathering up other works that can be demonstrated to be by the same hand, and to integrate them into an artistic personality, is relatively easy and simple. I beg the student, even when not perfectly convinced by my arguments, to believe in my conclusions. Not that I have failed to do my best, but that the tedium would have been intolerable if I had stated all that could be said. And besides, our studies are not the fittest subject for the dialectical method. Argument in our field can never be conclusive: it can only be directive.

The same reasons have prevented my putting down more than a part of the arguments I could adduce in proof that the Marriage Salver recently acquired by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts was not by Boccatis of Camerino but by a close follower of Cossa and Tura. The problem presented is, however, of such relative simplicity that one is almost ashamed to take it so seriously. And yet it needs to be so taken, if at this date accredited adepts of our profession can still make such blunders. Evidently some people still have to be convinced that even for an attribution so obvious as of this Marriage Salver, it is necessary to have a thorough knowledge of all the schools of Italy. I must add that if I include this paper on a Ferrarese painting in a book on Sienese masters, it is, as the reader will see, because the discussion turns on Matteo di Giovanni, their chief during the advanced Quattrocento, oblig-

ing me to characterize him and to define his relations to his contemporaries in a way in which I, at least, have never done before.

The essay on Matteo and Cozzarelli is intended to show what progress has been made in distinguishing closely between artists so kindred that as recently as ten years ago their works were still jumbled together in almost unsuspected confusion.

The shorter papers are slight enough, yet not without their use. The one on Cola Petruccioli is to introduce a hitherto all but unknown little master who plays his own little pipe to charm us with. The one on Lippo Vanni extends our acquaintance with that painter, who, until a little while ago, was a mere name. The brief notice on the Girolamo da Cremona at Havre increases our acquaintance with that fascinating and poignant illuminator by adding a work of unexpected type and character to the still very scanty number of his panel paintings.

These papers, imperfect as they are, will, I trust, persuade the attentive reader that our studies, if properly pursued, make demands upon all of a man's mental energies, and furnish a discipline inferior to few. They require the first-hand observation of the naturalist, the analysis of the psychologist and the skill in weighing and interpreting evidence necessary to the historian.

A generation ago, when a beginner, I enjoyed the privilege of being guided through the Borghese Gal-

lery by a famous connoisseur. Before the *Pietà* now ascribed to Ortolano I fell into raptures over the tragic pathos of the design. My mentor, who perhaps had had his fill of emotion in the work of art, or perchance was growing impatient of my neophytic aphasia, cut me short with: "Yes, yes, but please observe the little pebbles in the foreground. They are highly characteristic of the artist." "Observe the little pebbles" has become among my intimates a phrase for all the detailed, at times almost ludicrously minute, comparisons upon which so large a part of activities like mine are spent. It does not weary me, for I have the fun of the adventure, but the reader, who has only to check my statements with no reward but instruction (or, if *malicieux*, to find me at fault), may soon have enough of my arguments. To reconcile him, and to please the public, I have inserted into every volume of essays one which anybody can follow without keeping his eyes fixed on the "little pebbles." Here, it is a discussion of the Relations between Sienese Art and the Arts of the Far East. I was prevented from completing it in time for this volume, and much as I regret it in one way, in another I am not altogether sorry. I may now find the leisure to treat the subject more fully and more generally than I could have in the few pages dedicated to it here. But I confess its absence leaves the volume a more purely professional and technical one than I should have wished.

As becomes a man who has behind him thirty years of work in the same limited field, I have not hesitated

to fall into reminiscences, to compare the present with the past, and to talk not only of what has been acquired but to point out what improvements have been made in method. If our efforts, so often crowned with success, are seldom favoured with recognition, the fault is due to the less noble sides of our poor human nature, to envy, jealousy and spite. If art scholars, instead of never failing to proclaim from their pages their differences, often quite insignificant, took as much pains to announce how much they agree on so many important and vital points, the tribute of respect meted out to their common labours would be of a less grudging and contemptuous nature. To younger colleagues the words of the Chinese sage We-pu-fi are recommended: "When you stand on another man's shoulders, try not to spit on his head."

B. BERENSON.

Settignano, October, 1917.

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FIG. 1. UGOLINO LORENZETTI: NATIVITY OF OUR LORD
Fogg Museum, Cambridge, U. S. A.

ESSAYS IN THE STUDY OF SIENESE PAINTING

UGOLINO LORENZETTI

THE Fogg Museum of Harvard University has recently acquired a large Trecento picture which represents the Nativity of Our Lord (Figure 1). As a work of art, it appeals to the initiated for qualities which make it a masterpiece of Medieval Siena. As a problem in connoisseurship, it is interesting enough to stimulate the student to the exercise of all his faculties.

To begin with, we must make acquaintance with the aspect, and character of the painting. We shall then examine and cross-examine the evidence it offers of its own origin and kinship. After which, it will be in order to look abroad for other works by the same hand. If we find a sufficient number, we shall try to reconstruct the artistic personality of their author, and to determine how he was related to his contemporaries.

I

Before a cave, half masked by a Gothic pavilion, sits the stately and placid Mother of Our Lord, with wrists crossed over her lap. She receives the homage of an eager shepherd who falls at her feet.

Doing this, he blocks the entrance to the right, so that of his companion we see only a gesticulating hand. Opposite sits Joseph thinking his own thoughts. Between them stand the basin and ewer for washing the Holy Child, and the Holy Child Himself lies swaddled in the manger with the pious ox and ass putting their sentimental heads together over Him. Up above, under the low ceilings of the toy edifice, in the midst of cherubim and lovely angels in adoration, the Eternal appears sending down His Spirit, the Dove, upon the Blessed Infant.

Such in brief is what is presented to our eyes. It is no ordinary treatment of the subject. Theology and ritual must have dictated some of it—the Theophany undoubtedly. But what of the Holy Virgin? She does not lie as usual reclining on a couch a little to one side of the action, which, in early treatments of the Nativity, always centers firmly about the Child, but sits almost enthroned as the most prominent figure of the drama. The shepherd gazes at her with a yearning ardour most unusual, as if it were her alone he had come to worship; and for the nonce, neither of them seems to think of turning to the Babe. It is hard to account for a design so out of the common run, unless it was mere Mariolatry, the tide of which, after more than a century of Franciscan propaganda, was then nearly full. For my part, I can recall nothing exactly like it in the Italian painting of the time. And unique too, so far as I can remember, is this manifestation of the Eternal with His spirit, instead of the star, descending upon the Child. Was this too inspired by the Franciscan pas-

sion for realizing Christianity in the simplest human terms, and with human shapes? Or was the whole scene inspired by the fresh recollection of some Christmas miracle play which the painter had just witnessed? This would help to explain the action of the shepherd and the flimsiness of the architecture, but scarcely to account for the Theophany, seeing how unlikely it is that at so early a date they had the means for staging it. And what about the dramatic hand, all that is visible of the other shepherd? So unprecedented and unexpected is such an innovation that I am led to ask whether this "Nativity" did not form the central part of a triptych like Pietro Lorenzetti's "Birth of the Virgin," wherein flanking panels continued the scene, so that the figure owning the hand appeared on the right. Even this would be original enough.

We ask questions like these not to answer them—a task which must be left to the special student of Medieval theology, thought, and life,—but to draw attention to what is unusual in the picture regarded as illustration. Leaving all that now and turning to what in my vocabulary I have called "Decoration," we cannot expect that side of the work to be so full of peculiarities, for the simple reason that decoration offers much less scope for originality. In decoration, quality is nearly everything, and individuality nearly nothing, counting seldom, indeed, for more than mere novelty,—an element in itself seductive and alluring, but of fugitive and evanescent effect. Bearing in mind that this "Nativity" is Sienese, and, as we shall see presently, of a date not later than 1340 and perhaps earlier, there are

three elements only in its quality which may be counted as individual and characteristic of its author.

In the first place, the tonality is neither the silvery one of Duccio nor the golden one of Simone Martini, and still less is it the opaque greyish greenish one of the followers who hovered between these two chiefs of the school. The tonality of our "Nativity" is a thing apart, a work of rich and satisfying colouring, strong and soft, a sort of orange brown out of which flash and sparkle beautiful blues and grape purples.

In the next place, I find that the Madonna is more massive, more monumental, more compact than Sienese works of that time were wont to be. Her drapery is simpler and more severe. I should never mistake her for a Florentine figure, and yet she almost has the tactile values of one.

Finally, the arabesque of ductile and fluent lines formed by the contours and draperies of the shepherd is rare in art so early. Contrasting with the immobile gravity of the Virgin, it anticipates the ecstatic and swift style of a romantic painter of two whole generations later, Lorenzo Monaco.

Apart, however, from any question of originality, this work for its qualities of composition, drawing, modelling and technique, deserves a place with the most convincing, most impressive, and most sumptuous achievements of Sienese Painting.

II

We are now sufficiently acquainted with the picture to begin our inquiries regarding its origin and kinship.



FIG. 2. Duccio: NATIVITY
Berlin

A process of elimination so rapid as to be almost as unconscious as the spokes of a swiftly turning wheel are indistinguishable, brings us in an instant to Siena as the school, and the Fourteenth century as the period, to which this work belongs. It takes scarcely longer to arrive at the probability that the period is the first rather than the second half of that century; but not so easily answered is the question of the painter's exact affinities. As for his name, we shall have to confess ourselves baffled and acknowledge that we do not know it.

The student to whom this essay is addressed need not have its Trecento Sienese origin proved to him, for that will be as manifest to him as to myself. He may, however, welcome discussion of the less obvious questions of close affinity, precise authorship, and exact date.

Although certain features of the design recall Duccio and others Lorenzo Monaco, in general character it approaches the Lorenzetti. Were the author an exact contemporary of Duccio, he would scarcely anticipate Lorenzo Monaco to the degree that he does in the shepherd. If, on the other hand, he worked as late as the last named artist, he surely would not cling so close to Duccio as he does in the opening of the cave, in the crossing of the Blessed Virgin's wrists, and in Joseph's action and draping which vividly recall the latter's small "Nativity" (Figure 2), now at Berlin but formerly part of his great Maestas of 1308-1311. The angels, however, and the cherubim, as well as the Eternal, are so like to the Lorenzetti, as are also the floreated capitals and leafy cornices of the building,

that we are tempted to ask what prevents us from attributing this work, which belongs to a period between Duccio and Lorenzo Monaco, to one or the other of the two most formative artists of that intervening period, to one or the other of the Lorenzetti.

We answer that we know no designs by Pietro or Ambrogio Lorenzetti which are at once so placid and so vehement, in which the pose and modelling of a figure are so compact and full of inner substance as in the Madonna here; and furthermore that although the types of the winged presences bear a strong resemblance to those of the Lorenzetti, they yet are not near enough for identity. To all of which it will be replied that this panel might nevertheless have been painted earlier than any of their other known works. The rejoinder requires us to ascertain, if possible, exactly when the "Nativity" was painted.

It is no easy task that at this point we are called upon to undertake, for as yet the study of Sienese art has been pursued too short a time, and by too few students, to have gone farther than the mapping out of the main outlines, and distributing the known materials more or less coherently among the various dominions and districts. A detailed chronology has scarcely been attempted and accurate results are few. In the presence of a painting like the one before us we feel the more baffled as, owing no doubt to some mere accident, this particular subject is so seldom represented among the Sienese works that have come down from the first half of the Trecento that obvious terms of comparison are almost wanting.

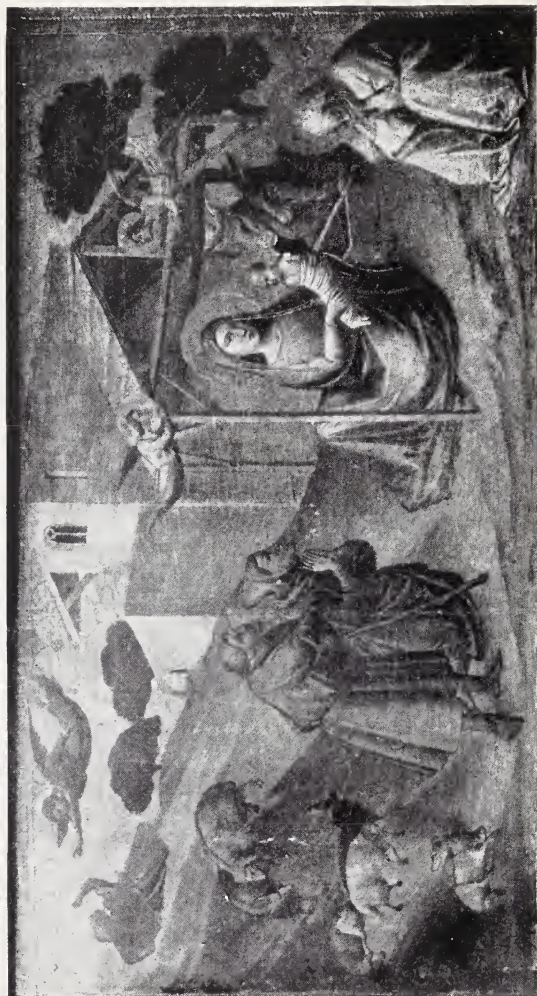


FIG. 3. BERNARDO DADDI: NATIVITY
Loren

We must begin with the representation and try to ascertain when it first occurred to an artist designing a "Nativity" to move the Blessed Virgin off her couch and make her sit up, as she does in our picture, instead of reclining, as we find her in Duccio and in all the paintings of Giotto and his anonymous assistants.

As, excepting our case, I can recall no painting of the Nativity in Sienese art between Duccio's dating from no later than 1311, and such works as the small panel in Berlin (No. 1094A) and the fresco at S. Colomba, both due to followers of the Lorenzetti who worked no earlier than the middle of the century, it will be expedient to see how this theme was being handled, during the same years, in the neighbouring Florence. There, in the Baroncelli Chapel at S. Croce, executed between 1332 and 1338, we find Taddeo Gaddi's fresco wherein the Madonna is off her couch and almost sitting up; Bernardo Daddi, Taddeo's more exquisite and accomplished fellow pupil, gives the subject almost identical treatment in a dainty and fascinating *predella* of about the same date, which now forms part of the Maciet bequest at Dijon (Figure 3).

If we bear in mind that toward 1335 Siena was no longer ahead of Florence in invention and enterprise but lagging behind,¹ and if, besides, we take into account the fact that in the Fogg "Nativity" the Madonna is seated with both knees bent, instead of one

¹ In that high achievement of Sienese design, Ugolino di Vieri's tabernacle at Orvieto, begun in 1337, the Madonna in the scene of the Nativity is still reclining. Without going the whole length with Adolfo Venturi (*Storia IV*, p. 940), who would ascribe the invention of the various scenes to Ambrogio Lorenzetti, I agree that they must be due to no backward artist.

only, as in the Florentine works, we shall not be disinclined to assume that our composition, in which she is farther from the stereotyped Byzantine posture of reclining, can not be of an earlier date.

Now let us see whether more detailed evidence strengthens or dissipates this presumption.

It will be admitted that architectural features as well as household vessels and utensils, and indeed all things that have shape and pattern, such as costumes, stuffs, ornaments, etc., etc., are constantly changing, and that in the Trecento the change was from the simple to the more complicated, from the round to the pointed, from the massive to the slender and from the sober to the more ornate. To find out just when our "Nativity" must have been designed it should suffice to compare it in all these details with other works of established date.²

But that is not easy, owing to the unfortunate fact already referred to, that the detailed chronology of Sienese painting has as yet scarcely been attempted. I shall not be expected to undertake it here. The discussion would lengthen out beyond all proportion, demanding a volume or volumes and not a paragraph. Nor am I ready to enter upon it, for while I have had the experience that gives me a sense of the period in a master's career to which a given picture belongs, I have not carried my analysis and synthesis far enough

² It should, however, be observed that in Siena at least the evolution was steady and logical till toward 1350 only. After that—possibly as one of the many consequences of the Black Death—began archaism, eclecticism, and syncretism, and nothing but a surviving simplicity of purpose and fine craftsmanship, and a saving ignorance of chiaroscuro and the oil medium, prevented the disaster that overtook Italian painting in general little more than two centuries later.

to translate this sense into demonstrable propositions. Too much must not be expected.

Beginning with the architecture, we note at first glance that it is scenic and flimsy as never in Duccio, in his immediate and close follower (probably Segna) who worked at Massa Maritima, or in Simone Martini. Even when their forms are more ornate they look more massive, more compact and more permanent. They never introduced columns as slender and unsubstantial as those we find here, although one might expect to see them among the twisted ones they occasionally employ. To discover the like of ours, we must search the Lorenzetti, and there we find such an abundance that we can afford to cite those only which, being of inscribed or certified date, and thus beyond discussion, afford us just the aid we need in our inquiry.

To take them in chronological order:—Ambrogio's panels in the Florence Academy depicting four episodes from the life of Nicholas of Bari, painted soon after 1332, have an architecture as unsubstantial, with columns as slender, as in ours, and with capitals and bases almost identical. The same in his frescoes of "Government" in the Sienese town-hall begun in 1338, and the same again, although more ornate, in his Florence Academy "Presentation of the Infant Jesus in the Temple" painted about 1342. As close, if not closer to the columns, capitals and bases in our "Nativity," are those in Pietro's S. Umiltà altarpiece in the Florence Academy, the inscription whereof, although renewed, is undoubtedly genuine at least as regards the date, which is 1341. And so, too, with Pietro's "Birth

of the Virgin" of the Sienese Cathedral Museum dated 1342. His last creations,—if I mistake not their chronology—the frescoes in the Lower Church at Assisi recounting the Passion, are more florid still in architectural forms, and represent a stage beyond the one that the author of our picture shares with him and his brother. On the other hand, none of the examples quoted is quite as intimately parallel as the forms on Ugolino di Vieri's Tabernacle of 1337 at Orvieto. The impression I derive from the study of the architectural forms alone inclines me, therefore, to infer that this last is the latest date that can be assigned to our "Nativity."

Among the conspicuous objects in our panel are the ewer and basin for washing the Holy Child. The basin, it will be observed, is polygonal instead of circular, as in Duccio and *all* earlier artists, but it is not yet hexagonal, as in Pietro Lorenzetti's Triptych of 1342, and in the gorgeous enamel in the British Museum which Adolfo Venturi (*Storia* IV, p. 945) rightly connects with the studio of Ugolino di Vieri. In both instances the shape is further than ours from the round one which prevailed for centuries, and in Pietro the sides of the basin are decorated with Saracenic floral patterns—one of their earliest appearances in Tuscan art. Making due allowance for the relative backwardness of our painter, we need not hesitate to put the polygonal unadorned basin somewhat earlier than the one in Pietro Lorenzetti's Triptych of 1342. And the ewer is much less ornamented, less Oriental, and points to an earlier date. We thus encounter singular agreement with the evidence drawn from the architecture.

Costume, which so frequently offers clues to dates, affords little assistance here. The less reason for neglecting it. The brocade of the dresses, recalling certain Pietro Lorenzettis of the middle period and anticipating Bartolo di Fredi, and the coiffure of the angels can scarcely belong to a period earlier than 1330, while the rich embroidery that edges the Virgin's mantle belongs presumably to a later day, recalling as it does Pietro's Uffizi "Madonna" of 1340, the Virgin in Simone's Liverpool panel of 1342 and other contemporary works.

The conclusion we may venture to draw from such evidence as we have been able to accumulate thus tends to confirm, if only because it does not cancel, the immediate impression made by the Fogg "Nativity" of being a work produced between 1330 and 1340.

If we accept that decade as the one to which our "Nativity" belongs, the possibility that either Pietro or Ambrogio Lorenzetti was its author is excluded. Ambrogio in any event is not to be thought of. As for Pietro, while I could wish that we had a much more secure and detailed chronology of his works we nevertheless have sufficient acquaintance with his career and style from 1320 on, to know that after that year he could not have designed the Fogg "Nativity."

To exhaust possibilities, let us for a moment toy with the idea that Pietro, who could not have painted this panel after 1320, did it before. It is apposite to remark that in the Polyptych at Arezzo of that year all of Pietro's forms are stiffer, harder, tighter and severer

than in ours. Note, too, that the columns that occur there, chiefly in the frames, are heavier and sturdier, and if it occurs to you to compare them with those in another Sieneſe achievement of the ſame year, Simone's Pisan Polyptych, and you find that they are identical, you may conclude that theſe were no expreſſion of perſonal preference but as much the faſhion in 1320 among the frame makers of Siena as a certain tight ſkirt was in 1912 among dreſsmakers in Paris.

I ſuſpect that, although the Arezzo panels are the earlieſt paintings by Pietro of aſcertained date, we poſſeſs ſeveral pictures that are ſtill earlier. It is an inference I draw from the fact that they are ſtiffer, ſeverer, and tighter, and becauſe they are closer to Duccio. I will not dwell on the Duccieſque "Madonnas" at Caſtiglione d'Orcia and S. Angelo in Colle becauſe they are ruined and not to our purpoſe. In Cortona, however, we have a "Madonna enthroned with Angels" which affords terms for comparison (Figure 4).

Nowhere elſe in Pietro do we ſee a throne ſo ſeverely carpentered and angels leaning upon it or touching it in ſuch patent Duccieſque faſhion. The ſtrip of embroidery under the Virgin's throat and croſſed over her breaſt is paralleled nowhere elſe except in Duccio's *Maestas* on the figure of Pilate, before whom the Jews are accuſing our Lord. The ſparse geometric pattern which edges our Lady's mantle is alſo found only in Sieneſe paintings of Duccio's moſt immediate following.³

³ Only the ſimpleſt geometric patterns with great ſpaces between them are found on the borders of robes in ſuch Duccieſque works as the Madonna



FIG. 4. PIETRO LORENZETTI: MADONNA ENTHRONED
Cortona



FIG. 5. UGOLINO LORENZETTI: DETAIL FROM NATIVITY
Fogg Museum, Cambridge. U. S. A.

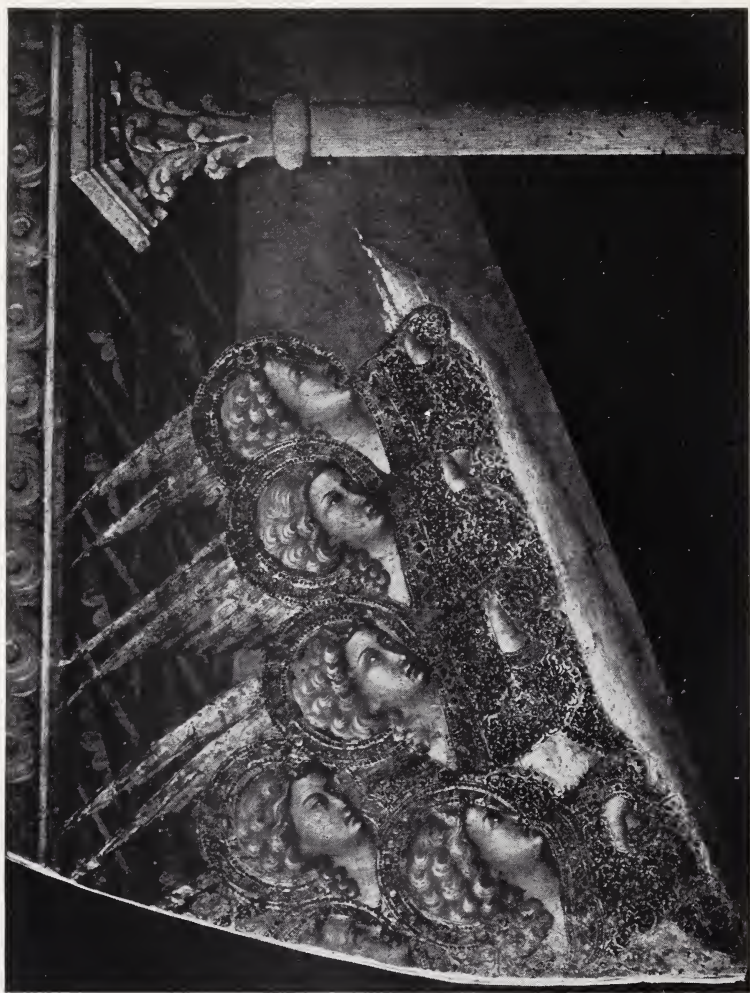


FIG. 5A. UGOLINO LORENZETTI: DETAIL FROM NATIVITY
Fogg Museum, Cambridge, U. S. A.

Early in his career though it comes, and to be dated as early as 1315 perhaps, the Cortona Madonna is nevertheless markedly, unmistakably Pietro's. The types, the forms, the action are his: a Child more characteristic, ears more typical, he never painted. If the Fogg "Nativity," which, although much less like his other accepted works, were his notwithstanding, we should, to account for the difference, have to put it back some ten years earlier still, to 1305 say, to a period before Duccio's *Maestas*: to make it contemporary with the incunabula of Sienese Painting—which is simply absurd.

No element of the Fogg picture is at once more free from stiffness, archaism of any sort, and more gracious, more suave, more lovely, more, in a word, like the most advanced Trecento art as practiced by Barna and Bartolo di Fredi than the ecstatic angels with their folded arms, gorgeous robes and wavy, curly hair (Figures 5 and 5a). They anticipate the most charming fancies of Francesco di Giorgio and Neroccio. It is not without interest to compare them with the angels in Pietro's works.

In the Cortona "Madonna" they show no advance upon Duccio and only a slight advance in the Arezzo Polyptych of 1320, or in the angels in the spandrels of the equally early Triptych in the Lower Church at Assisi. It is only in works of after 1330, according to my dating, like the "Madonna" at S. Pietro Ovile, or

at S. Casciano (by Ugolino) or the one formerly at the Monistero near Siena and now at Mr. D. F. Platt's, Englewood, N. J. In Duccio himself these patterns are even simpler.

the one in the Academy at Siena (No. 80, photo. Anderson 21118), or the Uffizi "Madonna" of 1340, that we find angels of a type and dress at all resembling those in our "Nativity." To discover their like for feeling and action we must go quite to the end of Pietro's career, to the fresco in the Lower Church at Assisi representing the "Resurrection." The nearest in all respects is not to be found in Pietro, however, but in his close follower Niccolo di Ser Sozzo's well-known miniature of the "Assumption" painted in 1334.

I have argued against Pietro Lorenzetti's authorship of the Cambridge "Nativity" because it is the most likely to be proposed; but with the same method it would be even easier to maintain that neither Ambrogio, nor Simone, nor Lippo Memmi comes into question. All of which will be more patent when we have made acquaintance, as we now shall do, with other works by the same hand.

III

To begin with, I shall submit to the attention of fellow students the few pictures which seem to me to be by the same author; and if at first sight the identity does not seem convincing, it is because colour—an element so helpful for recognition—is absent from the reproductions. Moreover, the eye requires a certain time to perceive even the obvious. After treating this group, I shall attempt to discuss other pictures possibly but less evidently by the same author. The effort can not be fruitless, for paintings so close to him as to be seriously claimed for him must reveal some-



FIG. 6. UGOLINO LORENZETTI: POLYPTYCH, MADONNA AND SAINTS
S. Croce, Florence



FIG. 7. UGOLINO LORENZETTI: TRIPTYCH
Fogliano



FIG. 7A. UGOLINO LORENZETTI: TRIPTYCH
(*Saint Galgano at left of the Madonna*)
Fogliano



FIG. 7B. UGOLINO LORENZETTI: TRIPTYCH
(*Saint Ansano at right of the Madonna*)
Fogliano

thing significant about his relations to his contemporaries.

It will be convenient to group together three of these certain works because of the close connection between them. They are, first, a Polyptych in the refectory of S. Croce at Florence (No. 8) ; secondly, another that has disappeared from S. Agostino at S. Gimignano,⁴ and thirdly, a Triptych of which the centre is at Fogliano and the side panels in the Siena Academy (Nos. 42, 43). I trust it may not be hard to persuade the reader that these three works are by the same hand, and after this it will be easier than if we had examined each separately, to prove that that hand was the one which painted the Fogg Museum "Nativity."

The S. Croce Polyptych consists of five panels (Figure 6), each containing under an arch slightly pointed a large, more than half length figure, with a smaller one in the gable above and the *predella* below. The Madonna, with her mantle tucked under her right arm, appears in the midst of four Saints, among whom we easily make out the Baptist and Francis but must leave the two greybeards unnamed. In the Fogliano Triptych (Figures 7, 7a, 7b), we see the Blessed Virgin, with her mantle tucked under her right arm again, while, as at S. Croce, the half naked Holy Child, wearing, as so often, a coral charm against the Evil Eye but, as far more rarely, and perhaps in Siena alone, a cross as well, turns birdlike and restless in her arms to the

⁴I can not remember whether I ever saw these panels or whether they had already vanished before my time. They were photographed long ago by Lombardi of Siena (1771, 1772) as of the school of Pietro Lorenzetti and I have always classified them with the S. Croce altarpiece.

right. In the side panels S. Galgano, like another Mithras, plunges his sword into a rock, and S. Ansano carries the banner, as patron of Siena. All three are more than half length, and under trefoil arches with dragons in the spandrels. The now missing S. Gimignano polyptych (Figure 8), consisted of five panels, framed as cinqfoils, with a more than half length figure in each and a smaller one in each gable above. The central figure was the Madonna with the fully clothed Child, very heavily seated in her arms, holding a large crown with both hands. On her right were Dominic and the Baptist and on the left a young deacon, Laurence or Stephen, and Catherine.

Little demonstration is required to convince the student that these three works are due to the same hand.

To begin with, they partake of the same mood. For designs so Ducciesque as they still are in the main, they are unusually emotional, sentimental and even vehement in expression. The action is agitated, to the extent at least that the severe restraint of the formula permits of action. Of the colour I shall not speak because I do not recall what it was at S. Gimignano, and at S. Croce the surface is so spoilt that it scarcely resembles the original state. As design, however, the central panel containing the Madonna and Child in the last mentioned work is so close to the one in the Fogliano triptych that it would be insulting the student's intelligence to propose to prove the obvious identity of the mind and hand that created them. The S. Galgano resembles in expression if not type the Francis at S. Croce, and he and Ansano as well show a peculiarity in



FIG. 8. UGOLINO LORENZETTI: POLYPTYCH, MADONNA AND SAINTS
Formerly S. Ginignano

the cut of the hair which we find again on the head of the saint on our extreme left at S. Croce. This peculiarity, of which we may have to speak yet again, consists of a fan-shaped shock which, starting from toward the crown, spreads over the forehead between the waving locks that fall at the sides. Between these two altarpieces and the third, the former S. Gimignano one, the resemblances are not so striking, although convincing enough: between the head of the Child in each; the face of the Madonna there and at S. Croce; between the Francis in the last named and the Dominic at S. Gimignano; and between the deacon there, and the youthful saints in the gables and *predella* at Florence. Rather than insist on a matter so patent as that these three works are by the same hand, we shall do better to turn to the questions of their affinities to the rest of Sienese painting, and of their chronological relations to each other.

The question of affinities, too, offers no difficulties. Dr. De Nicola, whose sense of Sienese art is unsurpassed, after reconstructing the Fogliano Triptych and identifying it as by the hand that painted the S. Croce Polyptych, decided that the latter was manifestly by a close follower of Ugolino.⁵ The resemblances are not few, and might prove even more striking if we could rediscover the Madonna that formed the centre piece among the many panels he painted for the altar of S. Croce. The intensity, the vehemence of expression recall him; the knitted brows recall his saints; the look

⁵ *Burlington Magazine*, Dec. 1912.

of the Child reminds us of his angels; the hands are singularly alike, and the way the little fingers disappear under the others, particularly in the Fogliano Triptych, is an exaggeration of a mannerism of Ugolino's. The draperies too are modelled after his, more linear than common among the followers of Duccio. And yet it is as easy to discover affinities with Pietro Lorenzetti, not only of expression such as may have come through Ugolino, who I believe must have been influenced by his greater fellow-pupil, but in pattern and action as well. The Madonnas at S. Croce and Fogliano, for instance, with their pose off the frontal, their sideways look, and their mantles tucked under their arms, occur in Sienese painting so far as I can remember only in Pietro and perhaps Ambrogio Lorenzetti. The Holy Children, too, remind us vividly of these masters, the One in the S. Gimignano altarpiece particularly.

The problem of chronology is far more complicated but three whole polyptychs should offer ample materials for a solution.

We should at the start dispel from our minds the notion that a pupil of Ugolino's must somehow have been too old to be strongly influenced by the Lorenzetti. As I have just hinted, it is not impossible that Ugolino himself was affected by them, for although a follower no doubt of Duccio's, there is no reason for assuming that he was an old man when we lose sight of him in 1337; and indeed his masterpiece, the "Madonna" of S. Casciano, recently assigned to him by Dr. De Nicola, seems to have been painted after 1335.

Among the many auxiliary studies required to facilitate the connoisseur's researches, one of the most important should be the study of poses in general and of those of the Madonna in particular. It probably would be discovered that it was the French, feeling the need of an art less rigid and more human than could be compassed by severe frontality, who had the genius to turn the figure on its own axis so as to bring it into relation with the other figures. That change alone made it possible for the Holy Child to smile at His Mother and for her, at times wistfully and at other times joyously, to smile back at Him in a way that anticipated, by two hundred years and more, the Milanese Madonnas inspired by Leonardo da Vinci. Giovanni Pisano brought the new pose and the new feeling to Tuscany, but although painting quickly adopted his eager, appealing Child, it took a generation before the Virgin began to turn her whole figure and not her head alone. To represent her standing sideways was an innovation that Tuscan painting in the Trecento did not seem greatly to favour. The Lorenzetti, inspired as nobody else by Giovanni Pisano, could not help trying it, but tried it so seldom that I can not remember many instances.

Much rarer still is the motive of the Madonna standing sideways with her mantle tucked under the right arm. I can recall none belonging to the public except the Madonna in Ambrogio's polyptych in the Siena Academy, and only three or four in private collections, as, for example, a full length one in my own possession and a half length one in Mr. Charles Loeser's, all dating, be it noted, according to careful calculation from

about 1325. One is tempted to infer that the experiment, although so successful as art, did not please—the elders. But meanwhile it was imitated by our painter at S. Croce and at Fogliano, for in both works, as we remember, the Madonna is seen as if standing sideways with her mantle tucked under her right arm. Presumably a motive that did not win favour must have been copied soon after it was introduced, that is to say, soon after 1325, but as other considerations may modify this result we must now turn to them

We remarked a while ago the fan-shaped shock of hair over the foreheads of Ansano and Galgano in the Fogliano triptych and of the old saint on our extreme left in the S. Croce altarpiece. The arrangement of the hair is as subject to fashion as dress itself, and for the same reason; it is easy to cut and curl and dispose as any article of apparel. This particular shock is perhaps vaguely anticipated in Duccio's *Maestas* finished in 1311, and in works by Simone of no later date than 1320, the great *Theophany*, for instance, in the town hall of Siena, or the *Pisan Polyptych*. The closest parallels occur in Ugolino, unfortunately undated, in two small works of his in America; a "Daniel" in the J. G. Johnson collection (plate 89 of catalogue) and the head of a greybeard Saint belonging to Mr. Philip Lehman of New York. The next closest occur in Pietro Lorenzetti's signed and dated altarpiece of 1329 at S. Ansano a Dofano.⁶ Here, however, the shock begins to be scallop-shaped, and is on the way to the treatment we

⁶ While on the S. Ansano a Dofano altarpiece it should be noted how much the Child there resembles the one at Fogliano.

find in Simone's frescoes at Assisi of some six or more years later. As our artist was, in other respects, closely related with both Ugolino and Pietro, he no doubt followed them in this trifle as well; but as his treatment is not so advanced as we found it in a work of 1329, we may safely assume that it goes back two or three years earlier: to the time, therefore, that the pose and action brought us to, that is to say, soon after 1325.

I do not hesitate to say that a study of all the patterns, whether on stuffs or jewels or ornaments, would confirm this date, but as it would be tedious to pursue it here I shall confine myself, before drawing this part of the discussion to a close, to a matter so conspicuous and important as frames.

Frames are to pictures what clothes are to human beings, and it is probable that, in the Fourteenth Century at least, the framed panel was not prepared by the painter himself but ordered or purchased already made from the framer. Earlier in this article we have already referred to this in connection with works of toward 1320. Directly afterwards,⁷ the Gothic frame came in and ousted the round arched one, although a certain number of the last continued in use for a while, either because they were selling at a discount or that the older people would not change over.

The frame of the Fogliano Madonna, already of a

⁷ One of the earliest instances of Gothic pointed frames is Simone's exquisite Polyptych at Orvieto with the kneeling Donor (perhaps the most individualized and convincing portrait of the Italian Trecento). The date under the central panel can not be 1320, as most of us used to read it but two or more years later, for after the two X's there are traces of an effaced letter or letters, and the style, too, shows a definite advance on the Pisan paintings of that date.

fairly advanced pointed type, has the peculiarity of displaying dragons as painted ornaments in the spandrils. The identical decoration occurs in the spandrils of a Simone "Madonna" belonging to Mrs. J. L. Gardner of Boston, and of a variant, once upon a time at Brussels, of Segna di Bonaventura's "Madonna" in the Seminary at Siena. The identity of shape and decoration implies not only the probability that the frames came from the same maker but that they were done at about the same time. Now the chronological arrangement of Simone's works obliges us to date the Gardner "Madonna" not more than a few years after the Pisa polypptych of 1320, which brings us to about 1325, and a similar process of research will date the Segnesque "Madonna" no later.

We thus may venture to place the Fogliano triptych not long after 1325, and it follows easily that the S. Croce polyptych is somewhat earlier. Its panels are not cusped and not so pointed; and, despite the singular likenesses between the two Madonnas, the general character of the other figures is much more Ducciesque and closer to Ugolino in the latter than in the former work. As for the third of this group, the S. Gimignano altarpiece, it is certainly later than either of the others. Its panels approach the cinqfoil rather than the trefoil in the ornamentation of the pointed arches, and I doubt whether such shapes occurred before 1325, while the types approach more closely to the Lorenzetti, and to the Lorenzetti of about 1330 or later. It will suffice here to mention the singular resemblance of the Child to the Children of eager darting look in such



FIG. 9. AMBROGIO LORENZETTI: MADONNA
Roccalbegna (Grosseto)

Madonnas by the Lorenzetti of about that period as Pietro's at Grosseto and Ambrogio's in the Siena Academy (No. 65) and at Roccalbegna (Figure 9).⁸

It follows from the discussion just completed that the S. Croce, Fogliano, and S. Gimignano series of panels are all by the same hand, that they were painted in the order named within the years 1324-31 or so, and that their author must have begun as a pupil of Ugolino and ended as a follower of the Lorenzetti. Let us now see whether to him is due the Fogg "Nativity" as well. If it is, we shall have put together four considerable works that imply the existence of a hitherto unidentified artist, while the differences between them, with the permissible insertion of discreet intervals of time, will afford glimpses of a career in its progress, and thus enable us to assemble the nucleus of an artistic personality. Other works which we may agglomerate to this nucleus will enlarge this personality and necessarily modify our sense of its momentum and direction, but in essence it should remain, like character in general, true enough to itself to be recognizable in all its varying phases.

After what we have learned in our examination of the four works in question, namely, the three series of panels and the "Nativity," we shall not find it hard to persuade ourselves that all are by the same hand. For proofs we naturally shall look first at the work closest in date to the last mentioned, and as, apart from con-

⁸ Reproduced here chiefly because of its interest as an entirely unknown picture by this great master.

siderations of authorship, we have concluded that the Fogg picture must have been designed somewhere about 1335, and the S. Gimignano polyptych as late perhaps as 1331, it is to this polyptych that we shall turn first. We find that the Madonnas have faces which resemble each other singularly, the heads of the Children likewise, and that the startled, eager, dramatic shepherd in the one is of the closest kin to the Dominic and Baptist in the other. In the droop even more than in the shape of the Blessed Virgin's hands in each we observe a similar likeness and the mussel-like ear of the shepherd is all but identical with Dominic's. Looking at the S. Croce Polyptych we discover that the saint seen on our extreme left in type, features, peculiarities of hair-dressing (the fan-shaped shock over the forehead), folds of drapery and hand, is almost a line for line study for the Joseph in the "Nativity." In the Fogliano Triptych what strikes us chiefly is the same colour scheme of golden brown that we have in the Fogg picture.

It may be assumed that the trained student who has had the patience and humility to follow the evidence will find it more than adequate to the purpose of proving that the last named work, the "Nativity," is due to the mind and hand responsible for the other works. Their relations to each other have already been established, and we now may conclude without rashness that this hand, first guided by Ugolino, as we see in the S. Croce polyptych, leaned more and more toward the Lorenzetti, as we note progressively in the three other works. If any doubt lingers in our minds it will be

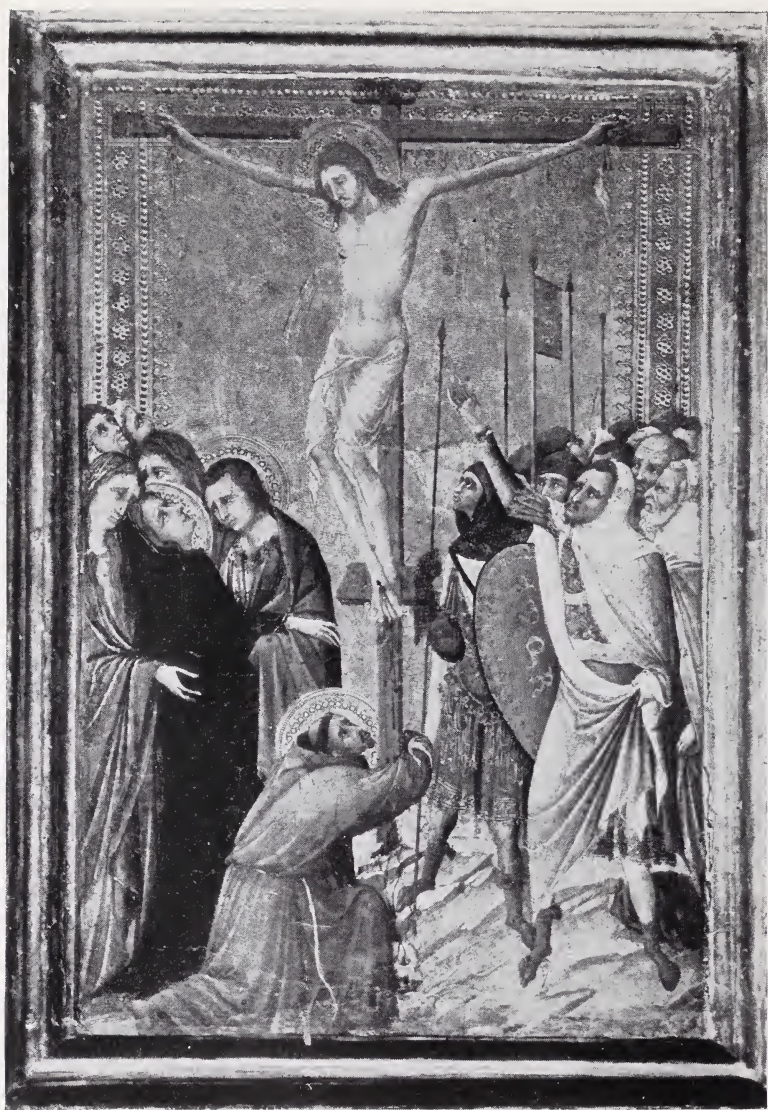


FIG. 10. UGOLINO LORENZETTI: THE CRUCIFIXION
Collection of Mr. B. Berenson, Settignano



FIG. II. UGOLINO LORENZETTI: THE CRUCIFIXION

dispelled by the examination of two or three paintings more that are certainly by the same hand, besides one or two less certain ones that claim attention before we can sum up our knowledge and give our present impression of the author of the Cambridge "Nativity."

Two of the pictures that seem to me to be beyond question by our author represent the same subject, the Crucifixion. One is an upright panel in my collection⁹ and the other is an oblong panel, probably part of a *predella*, in the Louvre. In the upright one (Figure 10), the treatment remains Ducciesque, with episodes culled, as it were, from the sublime Crucifixion in the Maestas. Our master betrays himself first in the warmth, brilliance and radiance of the colour, surpassing in this respect, no doubt only because of its better preservation, all his other works, and then in the types, in the astonished expression, in the prominence given to the whites of the eyes, and in a way the draperies have of stretching for no reason into angularity or flatness. It is a design he must have executed between the S. Croce Polyptych and the Fogliano Triptych.¹⁰ The oblong "Crucifixion" in the Louvre (No. 1665) is more original in conception (Figure 11). Its division into distinct groups, its horsemen with their carefully stud-

⁹ The dealer of whom I bought it years ago said that it came from Lugano, where there remained a companion piece.

¹⁰ Among the Ducciesque "Crucifixions" two stand very close to this one, the one possibly by our author himself, known to me in reproduction only, belonging to Prince A. Gagarine (see *Les Anciennes Écoles de Peinture dans les Palais et Collections privés Russes*, Bruxelles, Van Oest, 1910) and the other in the gallery of the New York Historical Association (No 189) very likely by an imitator of our Master.

ied cuirasses, mail and helmets, its touch, as it were, of deliberate Byzantinism, its curious corroded colouring, used to suggest to me an archaïsing painter, and make me wonder whether he might not be Giovanni di Paolo. It is clear now that it was painted by the author of the Fogg "Nativity," in a moment not long after the S. Gimignano Polyptych. Look carefully at the types, the draperies, the knitted brows, the eyes, the ears, and you will end by agreeing. The Christ on the cross is, by the way, nearly identical with the Eternal in the "Nativity."

If these two panels just described hover between Duccio and Pietro Lorenzetti, the work that we turn to next is so close to the last named Master that when I first saw it I supposed it to be by him. At that time it belonged to Mr. C. B. Perkins, the heir of the famous writer on Tuscan sculpture, Mr. C. C. Perkins of Boston, but it now forms part of Mrs. Gardner's collection (Figure 12). Its shape is almost unique at Siena, for it is a small arched tabernacle and decorated, like many a wayside shrine all over Italy, with paintings on the back as well as on the embrasure. We see the Blessed Virgin seated sideways on a wide shallow throne while the Child in her arms plays with a bird, fiercely and cruelly—in the character given Him in the Gospels of the Infancy—while to right and left and above are ranged Cherubim and Angels, Peter and Paul, Catherine and the Magdalen, and in the embrasure the Baptist and Evangelist, Nicholas, and Anthony Abbot.

Not only is this portable shrine close to Pietro Lorenzetti, but close to him at a definite moment, represented



FIG. 12. UGOLINO LORENZETTI: TABERNACLE
Collection of Mrs. J. L. Gardner, Boston, U. S. A.



FIG. 13. PIETRO LORENZETTI: MADONNA
Grosseto

by three "Madonnas" which were painted, as I have good reason to believe, between 1330 and 1335. One of these, at Grosseto (Figure 13), we have mentioned already because of the striking resemblance between the Child there and the Infant in the S. Gimignano polyp-tych. More striking still is the resemblance to the Child in Mrs. Gardner's Tabernacle, although nearest of all to the fierceness of the latter Child's action is that of the Child in the second of these "Madonnas," a panel in S. Pietro Ovile at Siena. The third is in the Siena Academy (No. 80). All three Virgins sit on elaborately draped thrones, and have so much in common with the types and mannerisms of our painter that it took me no slight effort to distinguish between them and his real works. The resemblance, to take but one instance, between the "Madonna and Child" in the Siena Academy and those in the S. Gimignano altarpiece seems created for the confusion of connoisseurs.

And yet the author of the Fogg "Nativity" betrays himself in many ways. In the first place, the Tabernacle has the general character that by this time we have learned to recognize at sight, the "all-overishness" that the great psychologist William James used to speak of, which determines our decisions more than all the detailed analysis that can be brought in proof. Condescending, nevertheless, to facts, we may point to the types of the old men glowing with prophetic passion, to the astonished looks, and prominent whites of the eyes, to the same shape of hands and the same kind of folds which have all become familiar to us as we studied our artist's other works. An expression so like to that

of the shepherd in the Fogg "Nativity" as the Baptist's in Mrs. Gardner's Tabernacle, a Paul in the last named so like the one in the gable above the Baptist's at S. Croce, old saints so like the ones there and here, a cast of drapery as identical as Peter's in our Tabernacle and the Evangelist's in the Louvre "Crucifixion," a hand so like our Madonna's and that of our Lady at S. Gimignano or the S. Ansano in the Fogliano Triptych, bear strong corroborating witness to the conclusion that all are due to the same brain and habits. Chronologically, too, it fits perfectly into the canon. We have seen that in so far as it depends upon those of Lorenzetti's paintings, which our artist was imitating just then, they dated from after 1330, and that its next of kin among works by the same hand was the S. Gimignano polypptych, which we have placed about 1331. In the canon, therefore, it finds room after the last named achievement and before the Fogg "Nativity," which, as we shall recall, we decided to date about 1335.

To these works that I think I am justified in ascribing to the same artist I shall now add two more. The first, consisting of four panels in the Pisa Gallery with a full length figure in each, the stray remains of some scattered polyptych, I should accept as his without hesitation if I did not find them a trifle summary and coarse in execution (Figure 14). The fault may be due to a certain carelessness, or because their position on the polyptych demanded a larger treatment, or merely to the present darkened and corroded condition of the surface, or to all these causes in combination. I can not admit, however, that their design at least was due



FIG. 14. UGOLINO LORENZETTI: FOUR SAINTS
Pisa



FIG. 15. UGOLINO LORENZETTI: ANNUNCIATION AND SAINTS
The J. G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, U. S. A.

to anyone else, nor much if any of the execution. The types are his, with the crimped hair, and whites of the eyes showing so prominently. The hands are his, Lucy's, for instance, like S. Ansano's in the Fogliano triptych, and Catherine's like those in Mrs. Gardner's Tabernacle: the draperies are his, too, as is so manifest in the Bartholomew, with whom we need only parallel the Baptist in the Louvre "Crucifixion" and the Peter in the Tabernacle. Finally, the Catherine is all but identical with the same saint in the S. Gimignano polyptych.

Perhaps it is only the timidity of age that makes me hesitate at all in annexing to our group the pair of shutters with ten rather fluently sketched and charmingly coloured little figures in the J. G. Johnson collection (Figure 15). There scarcely can exist a more serious reason for reluctance to accept them, for not only are they worthy of the others by our artist but most intimately related to them. The figure of Bartholomew, for instance, is all but the same saint as at Pisa, the Lucy all but identical with the one there again, the young Deacon and Gabriel are close to those in the S. Gimignano polyptych, and the Andrew resembles the old Evangelist in Mrs. Gardner's Tabernacle. Finally, the same Andrew's folds, and those of Bartholomew and Gabriel as well, have all the peculiarities of misplaced flatness and tightness that we have seen so frequently in the other works by the author of the Fogg "Nativity." I venture to conclude that there is small excuse for doubting that these little figures, too, must be by him. Again, we are encouraged by the facility

wherewith one may insert them in the canon. They find their natural place between the Pisa figures and the "Nativity," between 1331 or so and 1335, let us say.¹¹

IV

More works by the same hand will appear in time, as soon perhaps as other students can bring their contributions to the subject. Meanwhile we have enough already, stretching, as we have seen, over a period of ten years, to form the nucleus, we may even go so far as to say the torso, of an artistic personality.

It is an agreeable and attractive one. There is something at once fresh and youthful, passionate and ardent in his figures. If he never abandons himself to such tortured agonies of almost grotesque grief as the Lorenzetti sometimes exhibit (Pietro, for instance, at Assisi), he attains a certain airiness, a gayety almost, that radiate conspicuously from his S. Croce and Fogliano and Johnson panels. And yet he is scarcely the inferior of these great Masters in his gifts of eloquence and dramatic arrangement, as we have seen in his "Crucifixions," the Louvre one particularly, and in the "Nativity." And much as he leans on them, he is no slavish

¹¹ As I wrote of these shutters some seven years ago without foreseeing the present study, it may be of some interest to read what I said then:—

"These are among the most spirited, brilliant and attractive creations of the Sienese School. One is at a loss as to their exact authorship. They do not perfectly coincide with any unquestioned work of Pietro's, being more radiantly clear and golden in colour and of a blither spirit. Nevertheless they are too close to him in every way to be by any one but a very near follower, and among these there is none who attains to a quality so worthy of the master himself. It is thus better to assume that they are by him until more precise acquaintance with Sienese art proves or disproves the attribution." See my catalogue of the Italian Masters in the J. G. Johnson Collection, p. 53.

imitator. On the contrary, in the last named panel, his most considerable achievement, he displays as much independence of them as kinship with them. The more I meditate on this, his maturest work, the more do I become aware therein of a serenity, a ponderation of thought, and a command of artistic resources which gives its creator a distinct and honourable place among his Sieneſe contemporaries. We ſhall recall wondering what could have inſpired a compoſition in many reſpects ſo ſingular. We need no longer hesitate to conclude that, no matter what theologian or poet ſet his taſk for him, the painter who could make a compoſition ſo original was no ordinary artiſt. It is not likely that among his fellows we ſhall end by putting him on a level with Simone or the Lorenzetti, but he may turn out ultimately to have, when all is conſidered, the merit and rank of a Lippo Memmi. If he ſcarcely attains this artiſt's almoſt uniform lovelineſs of features and daintineſs of workmanſhip, he is more poignant, more abſorbing, more perſonal. As a colouriſt alſo he ſtands apart. In his better preſerved panels the gamut reminds me at times of the Eaſt¹² with its unhackneyed transitions and unexpected intensities. He almoſt harks back to the moſt wonderful of all Italian Mediæval maſters of tone and pigment and technique, the unknown Sieneſe of a generation or two before Duccio who painted an altarpiece to the glory of the Baптиſt now in the Siena Academy (No. 14). And withal he

¹² In the Louvre "Crucifixion" one of the horſemen wears Perſian headgear. As is maſt in Pietro Lorenzetti's freſcoes at S. Francesco in Siena, at about this time the arts and crafts of the contemporary Orient were beginning to invade Italy.

seems to have had an enterprising and experimental mind, as we may infer from the fact that each of his remaining works is distinct from the other.

This last quality may, however, be accounted for in yet another and not less probable way if we suppose that these works represent not a whole career, but only the initial, necessarily tentative part of one. As we have seen, it seems to start out toward 1327 with the S. Croce Polyptych and to end some ten or more years later with the Fogg "Nativity," for none of these paintings—the only ones known at present—is very likely to be of later date. What became of him then, at the height of his maturity? If facts warranted, it would be delightful to establish that we have here the youth of an artist hitherto known to us only in full career. But at first appearance, this pupil of Ugolino is already under the influence of Pietro Lorenzetti, and in each of the several works we have examined this dependence increases, until finally, as in Mrs. Gardner's Tabernacle and the J. G. Johnson panels, he is scarcely to be distinguished from his leader. True, the "Nativity," his latest achievement, is more severe, more emancipated from the Lorenzetti, as if its author were suddenly reaching out to a serener and more severely plastic art; but what career known to us only in its maturity could it possibly have preceded?

I can think of two only that could come under consideration, Barna's, and Lippo Vanni's.

Now Barna, "the most tragic minded" of Sienese as he has been called, is an artist whom it is easy enough

to estimate but very difficult to place, for the traditions with regard to him are confusing, and documents concerning him offer no security. We thus are left to our own resources, which consist of the inferences we may draw from the frescoes at S. Gimignano. These reveal an artist who no doubt owed not a little to the passion and intensity of the Lorenzetti, but who yet remained faithful to the types, colouring and even compositions of Simone and his school. And as he seems, in turn, to have been the chief inspiration of Bartolo di Fredi and Andrea Vanni, we can perhaps conclude that his brief flowering season occurred not long after but scarcely before 1350. Not only do I fail to discover in the works by our painter, which as we remember are of overwhelmingly Lorenzetti character, anything in their style, their types, or their colouring compelling us to regard them as a preparation for the frescoes at S. Gimignano, but their date excludes the likelihood, for the author of the Fogg "Nativity" had a career of at least ten years behind him when he painted that panel about 1335; and fifteen years later, the earliest probable date of Barna's designs, he would have been a man toward fifty, and not the young man traditionally credited with that great achievement. And besides, what became of him in the intervening years? It would be a singular, I may add an almost unparalleled, accident that swept away every trace of the activity of those earlier middle years usually so productive.

If Barna is excluded, despite the uncertainty surrounding his place in Sienese Art, we shall find it no

harder to eliminate Lippo Vanni. Dr. De Nicola's researches have given definite substance to this artist, formerly a mere name, and to the hearsay reputation hitherto enjoyed by him we may now add several works that we can know and appreciate at first hand. It turns out that as a painter he must have been of about the measure of our artist. They even have one or two points of contact. Thus, the Francis in Lippo's fresco at S. Francesco of Siena is so like the one in our author's panels of the Johnson collection that they doubtless must find a common origin in some figure by one of the Lorenzetti; and in the same way and for a similar reason, the dead Christ under the S. Croce Madonna is like the One under Lippo's Triptych at SS. Sisto e Domenico in Rome. Lippo's dates, too, which, unlike Barna's, are well known, would fit in better with our author's. Nevertheless, two strong objections oppose our linking together the two groups of works into one career. In the first place, although Lippo was active at least as early as 1344, it is most improbable that he had already, as would be the case with our painter, had a career of twenty years behind him. Then there would arise the question what became of him in the decade that intervened between the execution of the Fogg "Nativity" and the miniatures of 1345 assigned to him by Dr. De Nicola. More negative still are the conclusions drawn from the fact that while Lippo Vanni, like all his contemporaries, owed a great deal to the Lorenzetti, he, even more than Barna, followed the stream of Simone, and is at times (as in a "Madonna" once at a Roman dealer's, and in the "St. Paul" in the Bartolini-

Salimbeni-Vivai collection at Florence) scarcely to be distinguished from Lippo Memmi.

It is hardly necessary to add that Luca di Tomé and Jacopo di Mino can not be thought of in this connection, although I mention them to say that I have considered and refused their claims. The truth seems to be that the career which we have studied ended with the Fogg "Nativity." To painters, as to other mortals, death comes sometimes sooner than later, and in all probability it snatched ours away in his prime. He did not perish utterly. In Bartolo di Fredi's and Taddeo di Bartolo's angels we seem to feel a reminiscence of his art.

By what name shall we call him? My preference goes toward a nomenclature which has the advantage of being at the same time descriptive, mnemonic and alive, in place of the abstract shadows of abstractions, evoking nothing real, affected by that most German of centuries, the nineteenth, with its "Masters of the Half Figures," "Masters of the Pink Sash," "Masters of the Faces with Two Eyes," or Masters of many-linked place names. Our author was, as we have seen, an artist who started as the pupil of Ugolino and ended as the follower of the Lorenzetti. I propose, therefore, to designate him, until archives one day yield up the secret of how his contemporaries called him, by the linked names of his two teachers, "Ugolino Lorenzetti." But if that name irritates those who did not like my "Amico di Sandro" and "Alunno di Domenico," they are free to speak of him as the "Master of the Fogg Art Museum Harvard University Cam-

bridge Massachusetts United States of American
Nativity." I shall carry my patience so far as to allow
them to put hyphens between these words and even to
run them all into one.

TWO FURTHER PICTURES BY LIPPO VANNI

UNTIL not long ago "Lippo Vanni" was a mere name, the more tantalizing as it occurred as a signature under a work so important as the great "Coronation of the Virgin" in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena. Although obviously by Domenico di Bartolo and Sano di Pietro, there remained the inscription to witness that before these Quattrocento painters renewed it entirely, it had been by a Trecento artist who had left a reputation. Welcome as these later masters are, we should, considering that their careers are adequately known to us in other ways, gladly have sacrificed their renovation for any tolerable bit of what they replaced. For me personally the problem was only the more teasing because I was acquainted at least as long as ten years ago with one signed work, and the photograph of another. But the signed "St. Paul" in the Bartolini-Salimbeni-Vivai palace at Florence furnished me, at that time at least, with no adequate means of distinguishing it from the handiwork of Lippo Memmi, while the photograph I then had of the triptych at SS. Sisto e Domenico was not clear enough to furnish the desired information.¹

¹ The slight fragments in the former cloisters of S. Domenico at Siena told me nothing.

It was the adequate reproduction of this last work² which made it possible to begin to distinguish between Lippo Vanni and his closest contemporaries, Lippo Memmi, for instance (to whom the Imbert "Madonna" had been attributed just before without challenge) or Luca di Tomé, to whom I was inclined to ascribe the important frescoed polyptych in the Seminary chapel at Siena, restored to him by Dr. De Nicola. Thanks chiefly to the effort and insight of the last named scholar, we have at last acquired sufficient familiarity with Lippo Vanni's character to be able to distinguish him in his works whenever we encounter them. An important addition to their as yet very limited number was made by Mr. F. Mason Perkins with a "Madonna" at Le Mans (*Rassegna d'Arte*, May, 1914).

It is my belief that I can add two more to the scanty list, a small triptych of no great interest in the new Pinacoteca Vaticana, and another triptych in the collection of Mr. Henry Walters at Baltimore. As the last increases our concept of its author, I shall speak of it first.

This portable shrine (Figure 16), the gable and predella of which served as a reliquary, shows in the center the Madonna seated sideways on a richly draped throne with the Child as if walking in her lap, while the Baptist and St. Aurea stand on either side. In the dexter wing we see Jerome and a saint who may be Bartholomew with the Virgin Annunciate above, and in the sinister wing Dominic and a military saint with a ban-

² *Rassegna d'Arte Senese* 1910, p. 39 *et seq.*



FIG. 16. LIPPO VANNI: TRIPTYCH
Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore, U. S. A.



FIG. 17. LIPPO VANNI: MADONNA
Perugia

ner, Censurinus perhaps, and above the Angel of the Annunciation unfurling a scroll. The saints are labelled but I am a poor epigraphist and have not been able to decipher all the names. I am an even worse herald, and do not know the coat of arms consisting of three conjoined shields that we discover at the bottom of each of the wings. The size of the triptych open is 43 by 45 cm.

The most striking fact about the work—a fact which unfortunately the reproduction can scarcely begin to substantiate—is the dazzling brilliance and golden radiance of the colour, combined with a handling of a freedom almost unparalleled in the Trecento and a fluency, a liquidity of medium perhaps unique at the time.

These characteristics alone sufficed to prevent my attributing the little tabernacle to Pietro Lorenzetti, although much else therein, the Madonna and Child for instance, the St. Aurea, and the Virgin Annunciate, might have tempted me to do so. The dramatic intensity, the expressiveness of the figures, something in the Baptist, and much in the colour at first inclined me, on the other hand, to think of Matteo da Viterbo as its author. There is no further need of guessing. This jewel-like triptych is undoubtedly by Lippo Vanni.

I was put on the track of this correct attribution when I identified the author of this work in the painting of a "Madonna" (Figure 17), the fragrant no doubt of a triptych or polyptych, in the Perugia Gallery (Sala V, No. 1). In colouring and technique it approaches the Walters picture enough to suggest the

same craftsman, while the Children have much in common in expression and more still in the curious tissue of their tunics which consist of delicate golden matting, rather than of ordinary cloth of gold. The draping, by the way, of the Virgin's throne in the triptych has the same texture. It is true that the Perugia picture is not officially attributed to Lippo Vanni, but the hair and ears of both personages and the Child's feet are enough to prove that it is by him. As Dr. De Nicola and I have arrived at the same conclusion independently, there is a fair chance that we are not both wrong.³

Once on the track it was easy to find right and left witnesses to the correctness of the attribution. Thus the male saints have the roundish heads and faces characteristic of Lippo Vanni, the female saint shows a head no less characteristic, and peculiar to him are the matted straggling ringlets of the Baptist's beard, so like those of the corresponding figure in the Seminary fresco at Siena. And as if to clench the case, we have a most curious bit of proof.

The female saint in our triptych holds a slim Oriental vase, but that would scarcely enable us to identify her if she were not labelled as S. AUREA. Now I can vouch for the fact that to my remembrance I have never encountered this saint but once before. That once, however, happened to have been in Lippo Vanni's signed masterpiece at SS. Domenico e Sisto, where again she is identified by the label (Figure 18). Now Dr. De Nicola (*ibid.* p. 44) has traced back the latter work to a church dedicated to that female saint, in what seems to

³ Vita d'Arte 1912, p. 44 of separate issue.

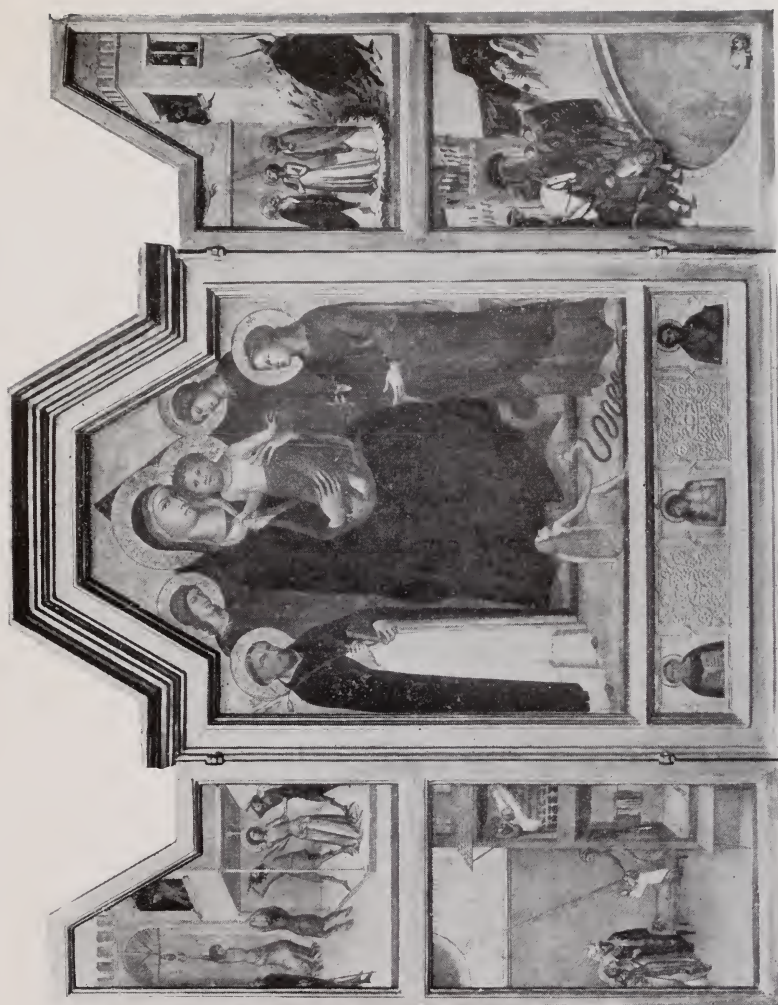


FIG. 18. LIPPO VANNI: TRIPTYCH
SS. *Domenico e Sisto*, *Rome*



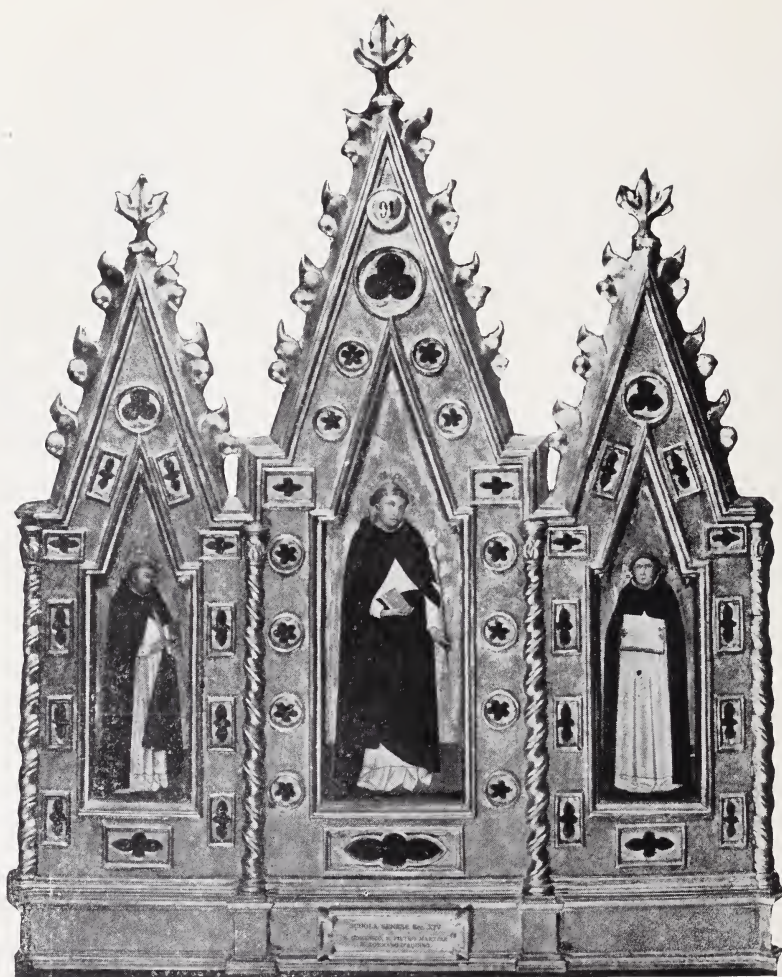


FIG. 19. LIPPO VANNI: TRIPTYCH
Vatican Gallery, Rome

have been the Sienese quarter of Rome. It is surely more than likely that this reliquary was painted for the same Sienese shrine,⁴ and seeing how much the character of the painting has in common with Lippo Vanni, it would indeed be startling if another were its author.

In no other achievement thus far known to me is Lippo Vanni so close to the Lorenzetti, to Pietro in particular, in feeling and in types, and so remote in colour and technique; but I find no clue in this fact to the date of the little triptych. A handling so fluent is likely to be of its author's later years. The motive of the Announcing Angel unfurling a scroll is at Siena more common in Fei and his kindred than earlier. We may infer that it follows rather than precedes the larger work for S. Aurea.

A word will suffice for the small triptych in the Pinacoteca Vaticana (No. 91, Figure 19). It, too, is a reliquary, and is decorated with the figures of Dominic between Thomas Aquinas and Peter Martyr. Colour and technique approach the Perugia and Baltimore works, while the types are obviously Lippo's. Compare for instance the Thomas here with the one in the predella at SS. Domenico e Sisto.

If I do not err, the last named altarpiece and the Perugian "Madonna" bear signs of its author's contact with Florence. I can not resist finding reminiscences of Taddeo Gaddi in the type and character of the face at Perugia. In the four scenes on the wings of the

⁴ Before coming in the possession of Mr. Walters, the small triptych belonged to Don Marcello Massarenti, and it is a permissible conjecture that this Papal almoner procured it from where the larger one had found a permanent resting place.

large triptych the action and even the composition seem at first sight to be entirely in the formula of Ambrogio Lorenzetti. Closer study seems to reveal in the construction, modelling and draping traces of contact with the most Sieneſe of all Florentines that ever painted, Bernardo Daddi.

A SIENESE LITTLE MASTER IN NEW YORK
AND ELSEWHERE: COLA DI
PETRUCCIOLI

OFTEN enough one comes across a picture which can be attached to no known painter, or group, nor even to any other one work which, although remaining unclassified, may have been already a subject of study. Nevertheless this picture may display some quality, some characteristic, some mannerism, or even some absurdity that attracts attention, and puts us on the lookout for its repetition elsewhere. When we succeed in finding it in another panel we are stimulated to search for a third and a fourth. Needless to add that this something for which we are on the watch, this something so peculiar and characteristic, may, in paintings of the same period or school, be taken to stand for identity of hand. But as even the humblest artist seldom turns out designs as like as pennies coming from the same mint, any three or four works manifestly by the same painter are pretty sure to betray a certain variety. Then it happens that these variations retained in our memory suddenly converge upon a picture whose identity has hitherto been a problem and link it to the three or four already set apart, so as to constitute a fairly well articulated group. At times, but more

rarely, the connoisseur is rewarded by discovering a work of known authorship wherewith to head his group, and if the whole has a certain æsthetic value as well, he will not be denied the right to indulge for an illusive moment in the raptures of creative research.

Although the method and process are the same, the extreme humility of the few paintings that form the subject of this article afford as reward only the mild pleasure that accrues from the easy exercise of one's faculties. The trained student finds nothing easier than the kind of task just described, and his career will afford him abundant opportunity for performing it.

On my last visit to New York I noticed in the Metropolitan Museum a small triptych trimmed with fat little finials like broken and smoothed over coral branches. (Figure 20.) On its three panels are the Blessed Virgin, angels and saints, among whom we easily distinguish Anthony Abbot, the Baptist, Lucy Catherine, the Magdalen, Peter and Paul. Above them all in the gables are the "Crucifixion" and the "Annunciation." The saucy female faces, with their pointed little noses, sensitive mouths and mad eyes, amused me, and their quaint piquancy gave me pleasure. There is however small likelihood that this impression was deliberately planned. It is more probable that the little artist who painted these figures had no higher ambition than to imitate his masters and models, Andrea Vanni, Bartolo di Fredi, and Fei, and that the pleasing effect is the accidental result of his failure to achieve even such a modest success. The craftsmanship is good enough to make up to a certain



FIG. 20. COLA DI PETRUCCIOLI: TRIPTYCH
Metropolitan Museum, New York, U. S. A.





FIG. 21. COLA DI PETRUCCIOLI: TRIPTYCH
Collection of Mr. Charles Loeser, Florence



FIG. 22. FEI: MADONNA
S. Domenico, Siena



FIG. 23. COLA DI PETRUCCIOLI: MADONNA AND SAINTS
Liechtenstein Collection, Vienna

extent for other deficiencies, and the whole air of the thing roused in me the curiosity of the absorbed fancier of the painting of Siena whom nothing that that school produced during the Fourteenth and Fifteenth centuries can fail to interest. At the time I could not have named its author, but I vaguely recalled other things by the same hand.

Sure enough. Returning to my study and rummaging among my photographs I soon found several.

As close as any to the one in the Metropolitan Museum is another small triptych belonging to Mr. Charles Loeser of Florence (Figure 21). It has the same kind of frame with its fat sleek finials, and the same kind of patterns and composition—the Madonna with angels and saints, Andrew and the Baptist, another female saint and Catherine, Anthony Abbot and James, and in the gables the “Annunciation” and the “Eternal.” The types are nearly the same, with the same absurd little noses and uncertain, quivering mouths; but the whole is less mannered and of better quality. The general impression one receives of its author is that he must have been all but a double of Fei. There is the closest likeness in arrangement, in flow of line, and even in expression. The Virgin and Child might have been copied from such a well known design by the last named artist as his “Madonna” in S. Domenico at Siena (Figure 22).

In the Liechtenstein collection (Figure 23) at Vienna there is the central panel of yet another triptych representing the Madonna with Peter and Paul, Catherine, and another sainted lady and two angels, and in

a medallion above, the Eternal blessing. The tiny peaked nose of the Child, the look in the eyes, the flow of the draperies persuade us that it was done by the same little master. Only here he is closer to Andrea Vanni, inspired by some such composition by that grave artist as his impressive Madonna and Saints with Mother Eve and the Serpent, now in the public gallery of Altenburg.

No sooner did I come to the conclusion that the trifling paintings just described were from the same hand than they solved a problem which, with hundreds of like preoccupations, had been troubling me for some time.

In the little Umbrian hill town of Bettona, frequented by students for its Fiorenzo and Perugino, there is in the church of S. Maria a very attractive "Assumption of the Blessed Virgin" (Figure 24). Our Lady, as frontal and collected as a Buddha, sits enshrined in the midst of seraphim in a *Mandorla* which is carried aloft and accompanied by angels wearing garlands. Below, most of the apostles look into her empty tomb, two unexpectedly bless and pray over a saint of much smaller proportions standing between them, while Thomas leaps up in the traditional Sieneese way to catch the Madonna's girdle. In the medallions of the modernised frame appear heads of prophets, and in the upper corners of the picture, Moses and Elias with scrolls on which we read the words ECCE VIRGO ASUNTA. In the corresponding corners below are two kneeling donors.

It is a design whose whimsical and exotic types, and



FIG. 24. COLA DI PETRUCCIOLI: ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN
Bettona

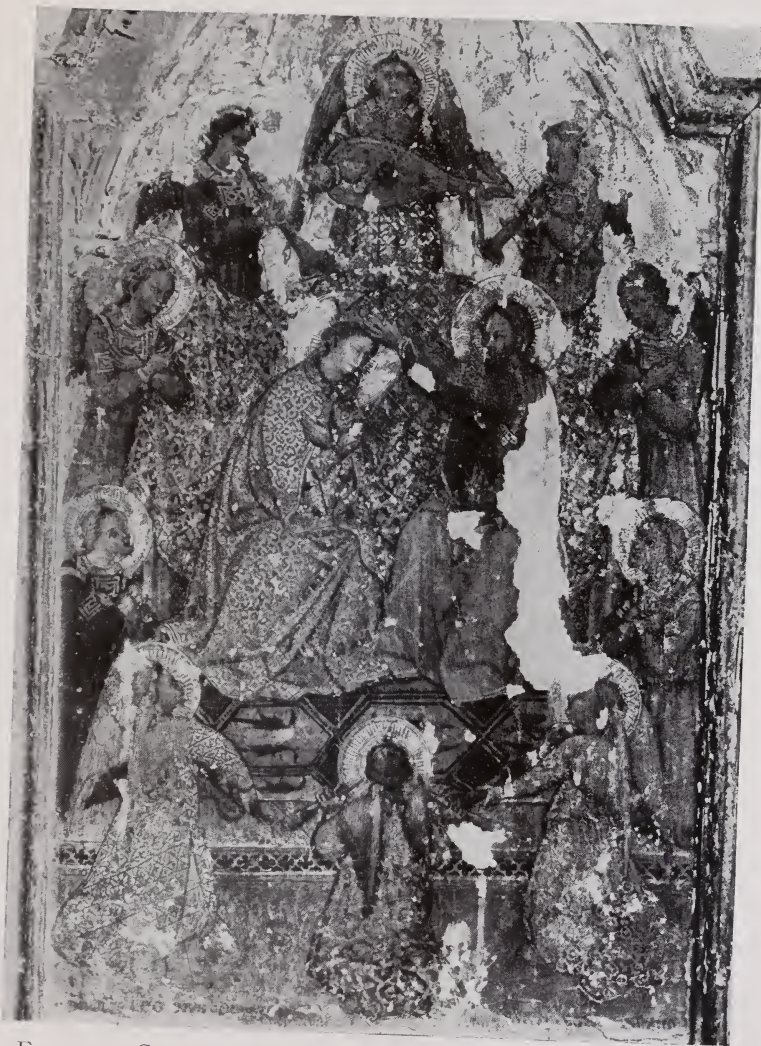


FIG. 25A. COLA DI PETRUCCIOLI: DIPTYCH, CORONATION OF THE
VIRGIN
Town Library, Spello





FIG. 25. COLA DI PETRUCCIOLI: DIPTYCH, THE CRUCIFIXION
Town Library, Spello

delicate airiness of movement helped, in a measure, to prepare a student like myself to prize the similar compositions that were being painted at the same time, or somewhat earlier, in a far distant island known then to the few, who had ever heard of it, as Cipango. That alone would have kept it fresh in my memory, and given me the craving to identify its author.

Until recently authorities were inclined to ascribe it to Bartolo di Fredi, which was not a bad guess. Fei seemed a still better one and I included this "Assumption" in the list of his works, placing it, however, in the early and therefore less ascertained phase of his art. But now one need guess no more. The evidence that it is by the author of our three other paintings is clear and decisive. The little pointed noses, the quivering mouths, the look,—in brief the entire cast of countenance—are the same in them all. Many other details might be cited, but it is not necessary to labour a demonstration which requires the trained and sincere use of the eyes, rather than verbal persuasion.

These four works conjointly, and each several figure they contain, prodded at my memory until it yielded up the recollection of yet another creation of the same hand; and this time, to my great glee, a signed one, revealing the name of the painter, a certain Cola Petruccioli of Orvieto. We shall see to him in a moment, but first we shall attend to the diptych in the Spello library (Figures 25 and 25a) that bears this signature, and the date 1385, and satisfy ourselves that it is really the handiwork of the same craftsman that did the other four.

The two panels, ruined and half effaced but not repainted, were first published some ten years ago by Giustino Cristofani in "Augusta Perusia" (1907, p. 54), and the somewhat mutilated inscription correctly interpreted. The two panels represent the "Crucifixion" and the "Coronation of the Virgin" with the "Annunciation" in the gables above. The author has so little skill in carrying out his intentions that neither the Mother of Our Lord, nor the Baptist nor the Magdalen have the look of grief and contrition that he must have meant to give them in the presence of Christ Crucified. The other scene betrays less incapacity because less was required of the artist. The Angels blow and strum away on their trumpets and viols, the robes and embroideries are gorgeous, and the two principal figures are quaintly impersonal. The quality is inferior, if anything, to the other achievements described, the drawing even more wobbly, the modelling mussy. We may conclude, therefore, that it was done later than those we studied first. Nor is it so unadulteratedly Sienese. Had we no information about these panels, I should yet be tempted to think that, owing to a faint infiltration of Alegretto Nuzzi's influence, their author, a Sienese, had painted them in Umbria.

But I have not yet attempted to prove that he also was the author of the four little works that we found to be by the same hand. It suffices to point again to the peaked faces, with noses looking somehow unfinished, and uncertain, ill-placed mouths, and to the arabesques formed by the draperies. Compare, for in-

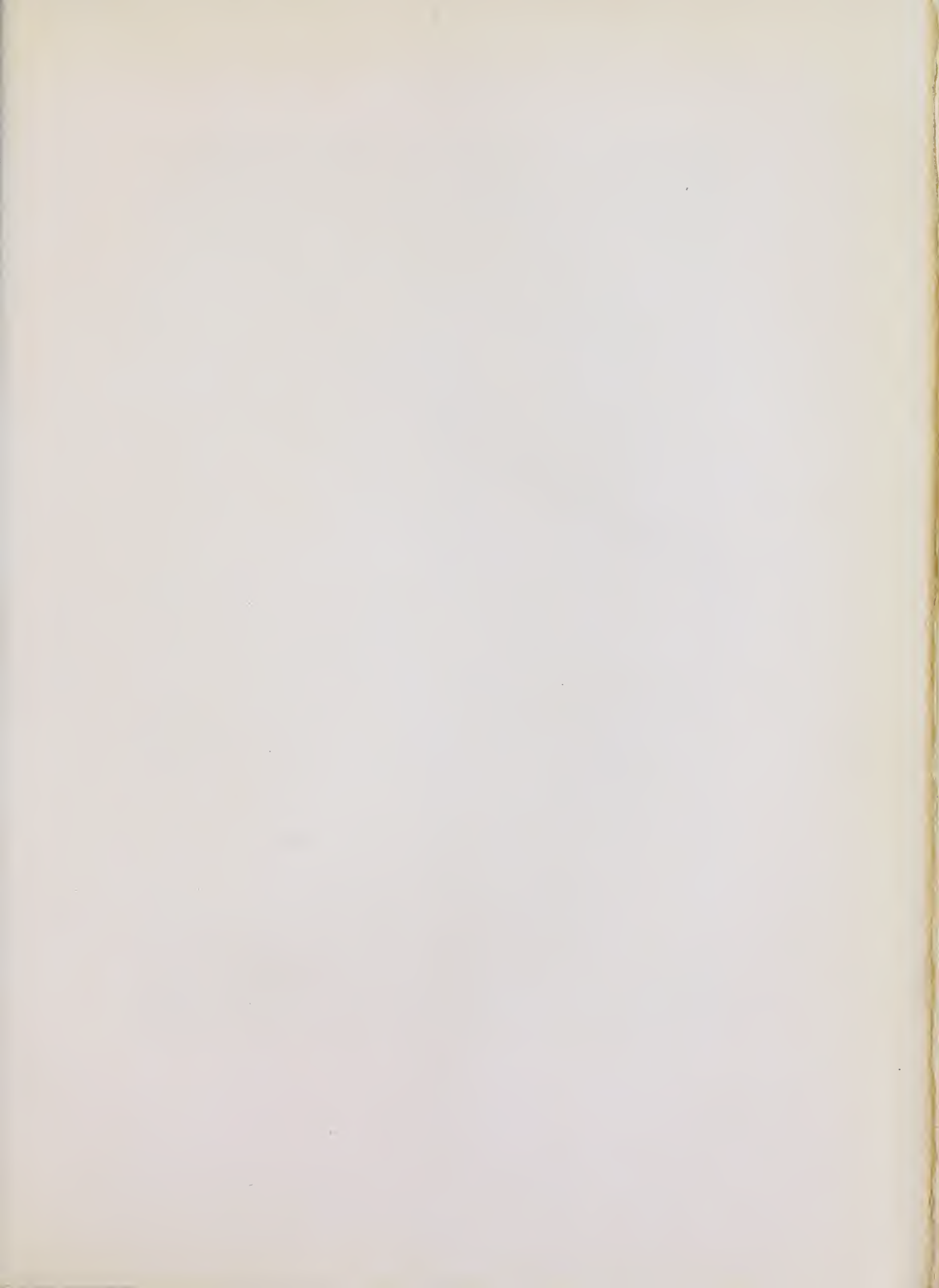




FIG. 26. COLA DI PETRUCCIOLI: NATIVITY, AND ANNUNCIATION
S. Giovenale, Orvieto

stance, the Magdalen with the Madonna in the Metropolitan Museum triptych.

Cola Petruccioli was not absolutely unknown, for Fumi, in his magnificent volume on the cathedral of Orvieto, published more than one document concerning him, and a fresco of the "Crucifixion" signed and dated 1380 is still to be seen in the not easily accessible oratory under the choir of that gorgeous edifice. Unfortunately I can offer no reproduction of this design, although it would clench my argument, and strengthen the effort I shall now make at a chronology of this little master's work.

But first just a line about another fresco at Orvieto in the church of S. Giovenale (Figure 26) which, to my knowledge, has never before been attributed to Petruccioli. It represents the "Nativity," the "Annunciation" and (unreproduced) the "Birth of the Baptist." There is a gracious sweetness about the Blessed Virgin which is more than pleasing. When I knew less intimately than I do now the painters of Siena, I was inclined to ascribe this fresco to Bartolo di Fredi, but a moment's comparison with the Spello diptych leaves no doubt that it must have been painted by Cola at nearly the same time. It suffices to compare the angels in the "Nativity" and in the "Coronation."

The earliest probably of the works we have ascribed to Petruccioli is the "Assumption" at Bettona. It is the least helpless in its mannerisms and most like a normal achievement by a Sienese who follows close in the wake of Barna, the Vannis, and Bartolo di Fredi. Next

should be placed Mr. Loeser's triptych, in which Cola approaches as never again to Fei. I have not had the leisure to try to establish the chronology of the last named painter, or it would be easy to know the exact date of Mr. Loeser's panel. As we have already observed, the Madonna might have been taken over from Fei's at S. Domenico. On the other hand both may be imitations of a lost original by Andrea Vanni, and in the Liechtenstein "Madonna" Petruccioli recalls that master directly. Last, but still several years before the dated diptych at Spello, should be placed the little tabernacle in the Metropolitan Museum.

Although our modest Orvietan recalls Fei to such a degree that at times it is not easy to keep them apart, it would be rash to conclude that the one was the pupil of the other. A curious coincidence brings it about that the first notice we discover of either goes back to the same year 1372. Most likely both were pupils of Vanni and Bartolo, and the imprint of the latter remained so indelible that, as we have seen, Petruccioli in his frescoed "Nativity" of about 1385, designs a Child that might be his. It is probable, however, that Cola did not remain untouched by his fellow-pupil.

His place is with those minor painters who as craftsmen were, like Fei himself, in the intermittent employ of the great cathedral fabrics to do a bit of new decoration here, and a bit of refurbishing there, filling in the intervals with turning out pictures to order, or, as is the case with the small triptychs, for the market. Siena seems to have been particularly rich in such little men, whom indeed Petruccioli recalls, as, for example,

Francesco Vannuccio, and, a generation later, Tino di Bartolommeo or Nanni di Jacopo. At that time they had to seek a livelihood far away from home, and they can be tracked not only to Pisa but to the most secluded recesses of Umbria and perhaps even to Sicily.

A CASSONE-FRONT AT LE HAVRE BY
GIROLAMO DA CREMONA

UNTIL twenty years ago, when Mr. W. Rankin recognized the hand of Girolamo da Cremona in a picture of the Jarves Collection representing the "Nativity," that artist was known as a miniaturist only. Since then, several other panel paintings have been identified as his, namely the "Christ in the midst of Saints" at Viterbo, the "Nativity," acquired by Count Serristori of Florence from Signor Grandi of Milan, and two episodes from the *predella* of an altarpiece, one representing "Poppæa giving Alms to St. Peter," and the other "St. Peter healing the Cripple," the first belonging to Lady Henry Somerset at Reigate Priory, and the second, to the Berlin Gallery. To this very scanty list I propose to add another, a *cassone*-front at Le Havre, representing the "Rape of Helen."

In this picture (Figure 27), Paris is seen snatching Helen, more than an armful for him, who screams and struggles, while an accomplice points the way to the crowded galleons awaiting them. On the left we see a colonnaded round structure, with women issuing from it, looking back as they run away.

It is an attractive dramatic design, telling its story



FIG. 27. GIROLAMO DA CREMONA: RAPE OF HELEN
Le Hacre

with despatch, with liveliness, and a touch of humour perhaps intentional. It certainly cannot pretend to the refinement that a Pesellino, or the passion that a Botticelli would have spent upon the theme. On the other hand, from every point of view, whether of interpretation, or arrangement, or structure, it is an achievement far above the average, and perhaps as much of an achievement as we may expect from Girolamo; for while as a miniaturist he was inferior to no Italian of the seventh and eighth decades of the Quattrocento, as a painter, in the full sense of the word, we probably shall never be able to place him in even the second rank.

This panel representing a profane subject, and serving a purpose merely domestic, proves for the first time that Girolamo was a professional painter in the fullest sense of the word, ready to execute any kind of task for which he could get a commission, and not merely an illuminator who occasionally did something for a church. And I venture to doubt, by the way, whether even Adolfo Venturi, who sees so patently the hand of the miniaturist, and that sort of hand only, in the Viterbo altarpiece, would so readily distinguish it here from that of any other full-fledged painter.

It remains to prove that this "Rape of Helen" really is by Girolamo, although proof is indeed scarcely necessary, for I believe that once his name is mentioned in connection with this picture, no student who has thoroughly mastered Girolamo's style, would hesitate an instant in agreeing that it is by him. Detailed proof, however, is naturally not wanting, and I will

give it for the benefit of those who have his works less clearly in their memories.

The long faces with the wig-like hair framing in a high forehead, the billowing or swirling draperies, the actions and attitudes, the large unarticulated hands, and certain features of the architecture are matched again and again in his illuminations as well as in the few panels hitherto ascribed to him.

Let us begin with the architecture. The colonnaded circular structure is almost the same as in the Berlin *predella*, and the laying of the masonry is as carefully drawn, stone for stone, as in that building, as well as in most others that Girolamo ever designed. We next take up the long faces, those, for instance, of the women standing just by the door within. We find them much more often than not among his Sienese miniatures. There one representing the "Epiphany" (Figure 28), shows a youth on the left, with the identical face and almost the identical expression of the young woman standing behind the door, while the one against the lintel, not only in face but in structure and attitude as well, recalls the "Christ" at Viterbo.¹ Helen, with her head thrown up, bears the strongest resemblance to the countenances of the "Virgin Martyrs" occurring in the Sienese illuminated books (Figure 29). The "Resurrection" in the same series (photo. Alinari Pe. 2a. 9358) shows, in a soldier scrambling to look up, an arm and hand identical with the right of the Helen, while the other hands, wooden and unarticulated, like

¹ Reproduced in Venturi's *Storia* VII, 3, p. 473, and my Study and Criticism, 2nd Series, opp. p. 98. In the last other apposite reproductions.



FIG. 28. GIRGLAMO DA CREMONA: EPIPHANY
Cathedral Library, Siena



FIG. 29. GIROLAMO DA CREMONA: VIRGIN MARTYRS
Cathedral Library, Siena

that of the warrior pointing the way to the galley, or of the young woman looking back as she runs away, are of constant occurrence among the same illuminations. A perfect parallel is offered in the miniature of the two Proto-hermits (Photo. Lombardi 201). Parallels with the swirling, billowing draperies need not be pointed out, as they are numerous and characteristic.

There can be no reasonable doubt that Girolamo da Cremona was the author of this "Rape of Helen," and we need scarcely hesitate to annex it to the canon of his works and use it as material for enlarging or modifying, as the case may be, our notion of his artistic personality. One thing results more clearly here than in any other composition of his known to us, and it is this: that besides influencing his Sienese contemporaries, he in turn was influenced by them. In the *Reigate predella* "Poppæa" certainly recalls Neroccio, and its companion panel at Berlin is catalogued there as "Style of Francesco di Giorgio," and does in fact, in one or two of the figures, unmistakably recall that master. In this *cassone*-front, although it is harder to point to striking resemblances, the same master's spirit is even more pervasive, as if, before it was designed, the relations between its author and the Sienese artist had been constant and intimate.

It follows that no other of Girolamo's panels was painted as late as this. The precise date cannot even be suggested, for we know little of this master's career. We do not so much as know what became of him after 1483, nor when he died. I suspect from an illumination to be published elsewhere, dating probably from

1475, that before the end of that year, part of which, as we know, he passed in Siena, he returned north, and I conclude that he executed this "Rape of Helen" but little if any later.

Since the above first appeared in print, M. Seymour de Ricci drew my attention to the fact that this "Rape of Helen" was the pendant of a "Rape of Europa" now in the Louvre. As I do not hesitate to ascribe the latter to Francesco di Giorgio, and as both panels must have been painted at the same time, it is more than probable that they were executed in 1475. That was the year in which Girolamo left Tuscany, so far as we know, for good.



FIG. 30. CLOSE FOLLOWER OF COSSA: OVERSE OF MARRIAGE SALVER REPRESENT-
 ING SOLOMON AND THE QUEEN OF SHEBA
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, U. S. A.

A FERRARESE MARRIAGE-SALVER IN THE BOSTON MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

IN the *Burlington Magazine* for May, 1917, Professor Osvald Sirèn has published a Marriage-Salver recently acquired by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. It represents on the one side the "Meeting of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba" (Figure 30), and on the other a winged *putto* holding a cornucopia in each hand. Looking at the reproductions I should not have hesitated to say "Obviously close to Cossa." But as an authority like Professor Sirèn has ascribed these designs to Boccatis, and as his attribution has met with the full approval of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts,¹ the word "obviously" can scarcely apply. Were it obvious, they would not have strayed so far from the goal, for it is a far cry from Camerino to Ferrara.

I am not sure that I should have remembered having seen this Salver before, if Professor Sirèn did not have the kindness to remind me that I mentioned it as a work by Matteo di Giovanni belonging to the late M. Chambrière-Arlès of Paris. Sure enough, yes, it all comes back to me. Many years ago, just how many I cannot recall, but more than twenty, for it already is entered in

¹ See Bulletin of that institution for April, 1917. I am indebted to Professor Fairbanks, its Director, for photographs of this, as well as of many other paintings under his charge.

the first edition of my "Central Italian Painters" published in 1897, many years ago I did see this panel and thought it was by Matteo di Giovanni. Never having encountered it since, either in the original or in a reproduction, it faded from memory, and I kept it on as a Matteo in the second edition of the book just mentioned, on the principle of "when in doubt do nothing." For I am in doubt about most things of which I have not had a fresh experience within a few years, and I have often meditated adopting some sign, not as brutal as a question mark, to put after a picture to which I have in that time had no direct or reflected access.

Of course this Salver is not by Matteo di Giovanni; and yet, for an attribution made more than twenty years ago, with no photograph to afford means of control, it was not, as I shall attempt to plead presently, either one which its author need too much deplore, or students resent. It was not then as it is now, when the frontiers of schools have been so well established, and their boundaries so clearly marked that there is no good reason for failing to recognize where a work with any character belongs, nor as now, when acquaintance with the minor masters has increased out of all proportion to what we had a quarter of a century ago, and when, as now, perfect and detailed photographs enable the competent and sincere student to reduce guessing to a minimum. *Now* we have a right to resent a misleading attribution, and especially one that takes us on such a totally false scent as does the attribution of this Salver to Boccatis. And yet if even now, with all these facilities, it still takes special training and sound judgment

to place a picture in line with the tendencies and aspirations that influenced its author, it was more creditable to have had, so long ago, even that glimmer of them which the attribution of this picture to the Sienese painter reveals, than disgraceful to have failed to hit the exact mark. Matteo di Giovanni was clearly not its author, but his tendencies and aspirations are related to those which formed the actual painter, whereas Boccatis moved in a totally different orbit.

What the tendencies and aspirations revealed by this Salver may be, we shall learn by trying to get its "feel," its aroma, as it were. We must first, to push the metaphor, discover whether a given fruit is an apple or a peach, before classing it as a pippin or a clingstone.

I

Every touch of the design representing "Solomon and the Queen of Sheba" reveals that it is the creation of an art striving with its entire might, consciously and deliberately, to master the problems that possessed and obsessed the movement known as the Italian Renaissance. Guided by the Antique, as Dante was by Virgil, the artist-adventurers of Florence and their disciples and converts went through an Inferno of crude science, and a Purgatory of assimilation, to reach finally the Paradise of perfect utterance granted to a Botticelli and a Leonardo, a Raphael and a Giorgione, a Correggio and a Titian, a Veronese and a Tintoret, a Caravaggio and a Velasquez. The author of this picture is still on the Mountain of Purgatory, but he climbs it with confidence. He has cast off nearly

every trace of Medievalism, only the faintest whiff of it lingering about the details of his Temple, in the pinnacles and in the tracery of the little windows. In all else the author is revealed as an able and ambitious student of the structural and architectural problems that had haunted Brunellesco and absorbed Alberti. And naturally he is an expert in the still new science of linear perspective, and is perhaps as successful as any in the third quarter of the Fifteenth Century, not excepting Piero della Francesca or Mantegna. He can even place the feet in perfect perspective—an art mastered by few Quattrocento painters and by scarcely any Umbrians, not even by Perugino—and as if to assure us that he is well aware what an achievement it is, draws attention to it by letting the feet of Solomon and the Queen project over the platform. Moreover, he enjoys an unusual mastery of aerial perspective, and as a result he has a nearly consummate sense of planes, so that each of his volumes and masses keeps its place and preserves its impenetrability, and immobility. And he is no mean draughtsman of the human figure. He understands its proportions, he can give it inner substance, he can articulate it, and put it in motion, and he can endow it with character, and even individuality.

On the back of the Salver, the design of the winged little boy standing on a rock in a landscape (Figure 31) is treated more summarily, and although quite as attractive, it seems to lack the refinement of line and perfection of planes that distinguish the other side. Nevertheless, it does not in any way cancel the impression made by the front. It only takes the least bit off its



FIG. 31. CLOSE FOLLOWER OF COSSA: REVERSE OF MARRIAGE SALVER REPRESENTING PUTTO WITH CORNUCOPIAS
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, U. S. A.

edge, as may be expected from a hastier execution. But even the little boy betrays a post-scientific acquaintance with the nude. He, too, stands on his feet, and these feet press on a rock of intelligible construction in front of a landscape with forms and distances fairly realized, while the whole figure keeps its planes parallel with the horizon. In the flutings of the cornucopias we return to the precision of touch and severity of the pattern on the front.

If this estimate of the pictures on this Salver is the right one, it follows necessarily that its author must have been one of those Quattrocento realists, who deserve the name of artist-adventurers because they were the pioneers of their craft, sending their spirit out afar in every direction so that it might bring back the realization of form, movement and character. Theirs is the sort of painting which a hundred years ago would have been ascribed by the amateur to Mantegna, or by the more learned to Pollajuolo, since these two names resumed for our ancestors, who felt so directly and groped not at all, the entire generation that preceded what they so quaintly called "the Golden Age."

With this appreciation always in mind, I shall now try to explain how it was that more than twenty years ago one could, without being too foolish, stray into ascribing these paintings to Matteo di Giovanni of Siena. We shall then examine whether it be permissible to give them to Boccatis of Camerino nowadays, when his artistic personality is already so well known. It will turn out that such an attribution has no grounds in reason, and I shall close by endeavouring to account for

my present conviction that the author of these designs must have been a Ferrarese on the very closest terms with Cossa and Tura.

II

The truth is that no artist south of the Apennines has so much in common with the Quattrocento painters of Ferrara as Matteo di Giovanni. With Tura and Cossa and their immediate followers he has so many resemblances, that their works would have been confused frequently but for the fact that, until three or four decades ago, so few native paintings had left Sienese territory. I am not aware, for instance, that a single authentic masterpiece of that school was taken to Paris by the commissaires of Napoleon. When finally these works did begin to emigrate, it was, so to speak, in the full light of day, and the recollection of their origin had not faded before it could be fixed by scholarship. If I was the only student to confound Matteo with his Ferrarese contemporaries, I was paying the penalty of having been the first to attempt a comprehensive study of Matteo's career and to publish a skeleton history thereof in the guise of a list of his works.

For, indeed, one of the curiosities in the history of taste is the immense time it has taken for Quattrocento Sienese painting to come to its own. Doubtless the circumstance that so little of its product got abroad had something to do with it, since an art that is too home-keeping seldom becomes that precipitate of foreign appreciation, a *patrimonio artistico*. A certain number of us, it is true, frequented Siena itself, but we were

blinded by the once vital teaching of Winckelmann, Goethe and Burckhardt, who allow no place to any fifteenth century painter except Ghirlandaio, and by the taste that found exotic satisfaction in the costumed inanities of a Pintoricchio or the meretricious loveliness of a Sodoma. These two favourites barred the way, but there also was a physical barrier, the squalid gloom and the marrow-chilling cold of the gallery in which so many of the Neroccios and Cecco di Giorgios and Matteos were jailed—and, for that matter, still are.

It is pitiful to read in the Linnæan pages of Cavalcaselle the bored reprobation bestowed upon these frequently powerful, sometimes exquisite, and always fascinating artists. Yet things are not much better even now. To my knowledge during the quarter of a century that these artists and their fellows have been one of my occupations—one to which I return most zestfully and joyfully—only two students have continuously, seriously and fruitfully taken an interest in them, Dr. G. de Nicola and Mr. F. Mason Perkins. Where the so-called general public—that is to say the hundred or two of fanciers the world over, who really desire accurate information about such a subject—where this public still stands with regard to Sieneſe Quattrocento painting, may be inferred from the scant and contemptuous paragraphs given to it in the most comprehensive work on the history of Italian art attempted in our time, Professor Adolfo Venturi's *Storia*.²

² How little Sieneſe art is understood in university and official circles in Rome may be inferred from the following: There is in the Vatican Gallery a small picture (Figure 55) representing St. Barbara watching the building of the tower in which she is to be immured (No 157). In the first edition

But to return to the parallels and resemblances between Matteo and Tura and Cossa, they are indeed close and startling. All, to begin with, are in dead earnest about form, but not very serious, for did they deserve this last epithet, they would, like the Florentines, have cultivated form for its own reward—ultimately a vision answering to the most imperative and constant needs of the human spirit and not to the frivolous fanaticism of the passing hour—instead of showing such feverish eagerness to pluck its fruit, long before it was ripe, to give relish to their mood. One is led to wonder whether this mood, as we now seize it, was due entirely to a temperamental identity between these three masters, or largely to a kindred impatience over the length of the road to perfection. Possibly most art worth the name which yet is not the highest, is

of my "Central Italian Painters" which appeared twenty years ago, I included it with the list of Matteo's works. To-day I should be ready to go so far as to suggest that it had formed part of the *predella* to that painter's famous "St. Barbara" altarpiece in S. Domenico at Siena. On the other hand, it seems likely that rather than by himself it was executed by his able assistant and all but Doppelgänger, Guidoccio Cozzarelli. In the anonymous catalogue of the gallery published in 1913, evidently compiled by a person with a good conceit of himself (seeing how seldom he quotes authorities when agreeing and how frequently when disagreeing with them), this panel is catalogued as "Florentine School." The Anderson photograph of the same picture (24013) is labelled "Ferrara School," as I beg my readers to remember, for Mr. Anderson—to whose large-hearted enterprise our studies owe more than to any of us writers—always gets the most authoritative advice.

At Florence it is no better, but there the fault is of the still surviving distaste of the Tuscan capital for her only rival. In Florence the pestilential scirocco is popularly still called "the wind of Siena." A revealing accident happened to the Florentine authorities not long ago. They acquired for the Uffizi a beautiful "Madonna and four Angels," a relatively early work by Matteo di Giovanni, while under the impression that they were buying a Boccatis.

but a cry of despair over the too distant goal, and over the anticipation of mortal weariness suggested by the thought of attaining it.

All three artists, Matteo as well as Tura and Cossa, arrest their interest in form directly they can achieve hardness of substance and trenchant precision of outline. They tend therefore to depict a world mineral, metallic, and lunar, such as might be evoked by the Sagas of the Berserkers rather than by the peopled earth that we dwell in, we who are the heirs of Mediterranean civilization, with its infinite tenderness as well as its appalling madness. Tura, and Cossa and Matteo have nevertheless left pictures not devoid of sweetness and charm, although these qualities are not the flower of their art, but outside it. Matteo in particular, the least gifted of them, it must be added, can not resist the Sienese taste for loveliness. But when most himself, although he has neither the vigour nor the rigour of the others, he, too, presents figures contorted with vehemence, claw-handed and haughty, in landscapes as jagged as the debris of an avalanche, or in a setting of massive, crowded, piled-up architecture.

Unfortunately I cannot refer the reader to any book where even the principal works of Matteo are reproduced, for Venturi's *Storia*, which gives us in black and white nearly every Ferrarese picture of the slightest interest (Vol. VII, part 3), has only two or three cuts after paintings supposed to be by Matteo, one of which, however, is not by him but by his follower, Guidoccio Cozzarelli (Vol. VII, part 1, figure 283—Figure 49

in this volume). As I cannot offer a sheaf of illustrations, I shall mention only pictures that are well known and easily accessible in photographs.

Take, for instance, his four versions of that singularly popular theme in Sienese painting, the "Massacre of the Innocents" (Figure 32). All strike us by the exasperation of ferocity and suffering, the tragic cruelty, the contorted features, iron hands, and flinty figures that are so familiar to us now in Tura and Cossa and Ercole Roberti. The modelling, although much flatter, means to be as unyieldingly firm, and succeeds in being almost as hard; the definition is as cutting, and the colour, as among certain followers of Cossa and Tura (like the painter of the Gozzadini profiles, for instance, now in the Lehman Collection, New York (*Storia* VII, 3,³ Figures 486, 487), has a curious resemblance to tarnished old brass. The architecture might almost be Ferrarese, flint-edged and over-loaded, deeply recessed, richly coffered, encrusted with bas-reliefs and charged with grotesque decoration,—in brief, a delightful but puerile revel of orders and ornaments, very unlike the severely intellectual building of other Tuscans. It will suffice to ask the reader to compare these four designs of Matteo with Tura's altarpieces in the London National Gallery, and in Berlin, with his "Annunciation" in the Ferrara Cathedral best of all, for our purposes (Figure 33), or with Cossa's works at Bologna and in the Vatican (Figures 40, 42, 43), and with Ercole's in the Brera. Or take another masterpiece of Matteo's, the "St Jerome" of the Fogg Museum at Cambridge, Mass. (Figure 34). Although



FIG. 32. MATTEO DI GIOVANNI: MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS
S. Agostino, Siena



FIG. 33. TURA: ANNUNCIATION
Cathedral, Ferrara



FIG. 34. MATTEO DI GIOVANNI: ST. JEROME
Fogg Museum, Cambridge, U. S. A.

obviously suggested by Ghirlandaio's and Botticelli's frescoes, in the Ognissanti of Florence, it recalls Tura and Cossa, not only by its grandeur and virility, its nervous energy, and its extreme definition, but by the architecture with its careful indications of masonry, and by the accessories, such as the coral rosary suspended from the wall. Then, who else in Tuscany would have painted a lion so like those springs of vital energy, the lions of Tura, and of his model the sublime Lion of St. Mark's? Who but Matteo in Tuscany has types as haughty as his "Madonna della Neve," or the "Magdalen" in his S. Domenico altarpiece, or landscapes so strange, so lunar and so gem-like as the one in that fascinating pattern of colour and line, his "Assumption," now in the London National Gallery? To find their nearest parallels we again must approach the paintings of Tura and Cossa and Ercole and their nearest followers.³

These parallels and resemblances between Matteo and his Ferrarese contemporaries are not necessarily the result of mere accident. They may be due to more than the hazard of kindred temperaments in similar stages of development, for, as we remember, all these painters were striving, if not to be realists, naturalists and scientists themselves, at least to profit by the efforts of the artists who were. It is possible that Matteo had come into personal touch with Tura and Cossa, for even in the Fifteenth Century people were not quite

³ One of the closest parallels between Matteo and any of this group is furnished by the mysterious author of the captivating Ferrarese picture at Faenza ascribed to Scaletti. Another close parallel is with Bianchi (see Venturi's *Storia* VII, 3, figs. 799-804).

as limited in their movements as pumpkins. What at any rate is fairly secure, is that they all came under the influence of the great Florentines, whether Donatello and Castagno and Pollajuolo, or Uccello and Piero della Francesca. It is not necessary to prove this statement in so far as the Ferrarese are concerned, for it has been amply and even more than amply acknowledged. As for Matteo, his indebtedness to Pollajuolo, who in a sense resumes his own and his preceding generation, is not only manifest more or less everywhere, but in his greatest achievement, the "Massacre of the Innocents" on the pavement of the Siena Cathedral, the friezes in the cornice, if we had them separately and unclassified, would by miracle only have escaped attribution to the Florentine.

There was, however, still another link between the Sienese and Tura, Cossa and Ercole. The last were essentially the product of that extraordinary archaeological, scientific and naturalistic movement at Padua connected with the name of Squarcione. Another product of the same movement, Girolamo da Cremona, appeared in the Sienese as early as 1467, and remained there long enough to leave a marked impression upon all the abler painters of that region, but on none so much as on Matteo.⁴ To study this in detail would

⁴ In Berlin a *predella* by Girolamo (No. 1655) representing "the Healing of the Cripple" is catalogued as "Manner of Francesco di Giorgio." We scarcely expect delicate connoisseurship from the art-corporals of Potsdam, so that their attribution is a tribute to the influence exercised by the Cremonese upon Cecco di Giorgio. His influence on Neroccio is most clearly manifested in the wonderful *predella* of the Uffizi, wherein, indeed, the city square, with its crowded buildings and massive architecture, suggests Girolamo and at the same time furnishes a close and interesting parallel to the one in our Salver (Fig. 35).

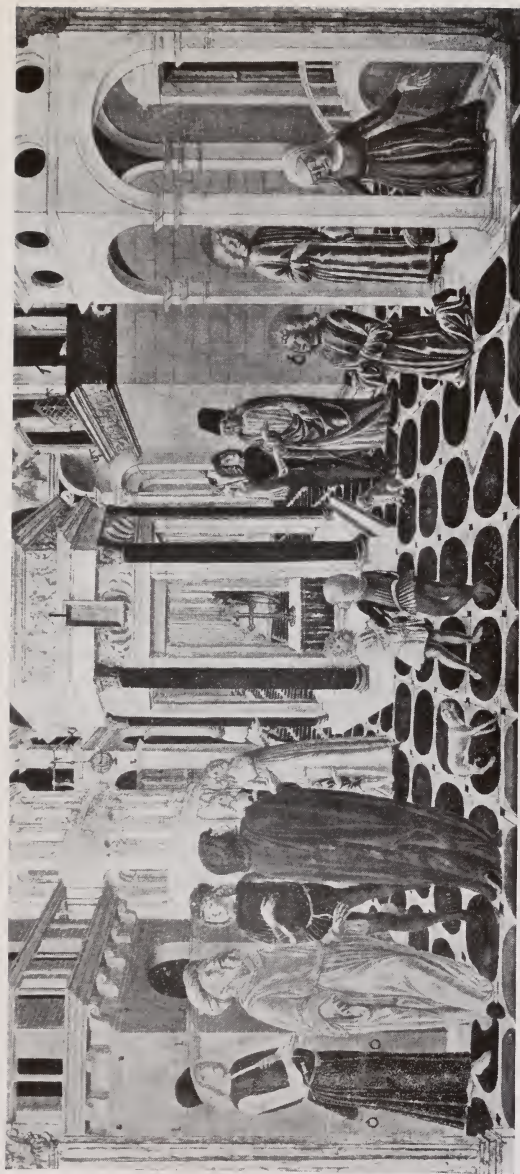


FIG. 35. NEROCIO: PART OF PREDELLA WITH EPISODE FROM THE LEGEND OF ST. BENEDICT
Uffizi, Florence

take us too far from our present purpose, and besides, once pointed out, it is so patent that the reader will prefer to make the detailed comparisons for himself. In a general way it may be said that vaguely in certain of his Madonnas, more clearly in some of his children, but most decidedly in his architecture, with its curious Mantegnesque features and its great precision of line, the influence of Girolamo da Cremona is manifest.

Admitting these parallels and resemblances, which nowadays we can study so minutely in accurate and detailed reproductions, it is scarcely surprising that a student who saw this "Solomon and the Queen of Sheba" more than twenty years ago, should have got the impression that it was by Matteo. Now he sees that despite the haughtiness or archness of the women, the hardness of the modelling, the sharpness of the silhouettes, despite the architecture and the landscape, the resemblance to Matteo's style is only generic; for now he, like every other student, has access to photographs to confirm or contradict his impressions, and is no longer led astray by the glamour of his adventure to see the Quattrocento Sienese wherever possible, as if there were a mirage coming between him and a certain type of picture. That this happened in those early days is not surprising, for it is notorious how by the constitution not only of our minds but of our very instruments of vision, we are led to find everywhere the images that are absorbing our attention. This is perhaps the chief reason why, as was said by the Goncourts: "Seeing is the most difficult to acquire of all the arts."

Another and final excuse for the student of more than twenty years ago was that the boundaries of the schools were far from being as settled and established as they are now. (Would that those of Europe were in as little need of rectification in this Dies Irae of 1917!) Let alone the Sienese, whom we were only beginning to know, even the Ferrarese, although they already had been worked over by Morelli, Frizzoni and Venturi, were still suffering from vagueness of frontiers (and no wonder, for no other school was situated to receive more varied influences). The work that has been done since, to set things straight, has been decisive. It is chiefly due to Venturi and to the opposition he has stimulated; and one who is acquainted with the "literature" of the subject knows what changes, what fluctuations, what operations have been necessary in order to attain the knowledge now acquired. It is no longer permissible, for instance, to discuss, as was done only ten years ago, whether the Morelli "Evangelist" (Venturi, *Storia* VII, 3, Figure 496) and the Dublin "Portrait of a Lute Player" (*ibid*, Figure 410) are Florentine or Ferrarese.

III

Error is never excusable, but there are times when it is hard to avoid. Of this nature, not easy to avoid, was the error of ascribing to Matteo di Giovanni the Salver recently acquired by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Nowadays, however, there is no reason save ignorance, incompetence and haste, to confound Matteo with the Ferrarese. And yet, as we have seen,

he was singularly and confusingly like them, more, all considered, than any other painter south of the Apennines. Like them he was, I repeat, an artist with certain naturalistic, realistic, scientific and archæological interests. But if there be one painter of any fame, who for an Italian and a contemporary had less resemblance to these Ferrarese than another, it was Boccatis of Camerino. How it is possible nowadays, with all that even the casual person can learn of Italian art, to confound a work of such advanced Renaissance character, of such severe, clean-cut contours, of such pride and distinction, as this "Solomon and Queen of Sheba" with the quaint prettiness, amusing puerilities and general indecision of a Boccatis, it is not easy to understand. If he recalls any painters of the north, it is neither Tura, nor Cossa nor Ercole nor any follower of theirs, but, to a curious degree, the Emilian painters of a previous generation, more his own contemporaries in every sense of the word, Angelo and Bartolommeo degli Erri of Modena (Venturi's *Storia*, VII, 3, Figures 784-788).

Earlier in this article we compared the scientific, naturalistic, archæological artists to souls in purgatory. Following out the comparison, Boccatis and his kindred the world over may be well described as souls in limbo. They are innocent, they are attractive; they do not distress us with the sight of struggle and strife, failure and filth. They will never grow up. They remain children, and when no longer quite that, they amuse and touch us as do *crétins* of the Val d'Aosta, and their more pretentious kindred of a certain island in the sea who are, I fancy, the last survivors of more playful,

less responsible races that have disappeared before more rational, and more highly organized, and mechanized civilizations.

Boccatis never outgrew the Transitional pre-scientific stage of painting so delightfully represented in the North by the Limbourgs and their followers, the painters of Cologne, and in the South by Gentile da Fabriano, Pisanello and their numerous peers and pupils. Only that Boccatis, who, although he lived to about 1480, never showed the least comprehension of the New Age, could not help picking up some of its bye-products, which he uses as intelligently as an amiable savage might the braces and cravat left behind by some European explorer. In his picture at Ajaccio he paints a dome, but its relation to the dome in our Salver is about the same as that we may find in some debased coin of the Sixth or Seventh Century compared with the one on the medal struck in honour of Bramante. When he employs columns and cornices of the new shape, he shows no understanding of and betrays no interest in their structure, and as a rule his proportions remain frail, pulled-out and Gothic (Figure 36). When he attempts the nude, as at S. Maria di Seppio, near Camerino, it is clear that he has never even thought of drawing it from nature. Of his line and of his draperies, all that can be said is that they are disarmingly innocent; while as for his modelling, it seldom gets beyond rouging the cheek-bones and smudging the hollows.

To do him full justice, I am going to acquaint my readers with two pictures of his, probably unknown to



FIG. 36. БОККАТИС; ПОЛЮПТИЧ
Belforte



FIG. 37. BOCCATIS: MADONNA
Former Schwartz Collection, Vienna

them, which show him in a more advanced phase than any likely to be known to them. One of them, a "Madonna," when I saw it more than ten years ago, was for sale at Vienna; the other, a "Sposalizio," formerly in the Butler Collection, now belongs to me.

The Madonna (Figure 37) is represented as seen in connection with a Renaissance niche. Just what the connection is I cannot conclude, for if you do not look at the ledge she seems to be in front of the columns, and if you look at the ledge you must acknowledge that the painter meant her to remain well behind them. Now compare this with the planes in our Salver, where each figure so consistently keeps its own. Then the niche itself—the members are Renaissance enough but the cornice does not rest on the columns, while these with their capitals project by their whole diameter beyond it, and their bases are out of all possible perspective. Coming to the construction of the Virgin's face, it is better than any other of his known to me, but how naïve, how uncertain beside anything in our "Solomon and the Queen of Sheba." Then the Child—what an unarticulated nude, what a puffed-out mask, what a stiff torso and what boneless limbs he has, when judged by the science displayed in the winged boy on the back of our Salver!

The "Sposalizio" (Figure 38) is even more interesting, because the subject lends itself, as a composition, to a design almost identical with the "Meeting of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba." Boccatis is here not only fresh and attractive but in every way a more modern artist than he is elsewhere. No wonder this panel

used to be attributed to the school of Angelico, for the high priest and the Virgin vaguely recall that great and exquisite artist, and much else in the composition suggests Florence. The architecture shows Boccatis in his most advanced phase and so does the drawing. And nevertheless it is rustic simplicity itself, candid, naïve, and unambitious, when considered in the light of all the scientific, naturalistic and archæological problems the author of our Salver sets himself and solves.

With the best will in the world I do not succeed in discovering any even intelligible reason for ascribing this work to Boccatis, nor can I see anything specific that he has in common with the author of this work, except that the winged *putto* on its back, and the Children in some of Boccatis' "Madonnas" wear on their breasts a bit of coral. This charm against the Evil Eye was, however, pretty universally worn by children in Italy, and frequently even by the God-Child!

It is distressing to have said hard things of the amiable Boccatis. As a school boy I adored Iopas, the court cosmographer of Queen Dido, and I still worship Lucretius. Yet if any one were to maintain that they had invented the systems of Newton and Laplace, and if, in order to prove the absurdity of the claim, I had to show how pre-scientific these ancients were, the fault would not be mine but his who made such a ridiculous declaration. To compare small with great, that is the case with Boccatis and the author of the Salver at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Even the remote and inaccessible mountain region lying between Umbria and the Marches whence he came, backward though it

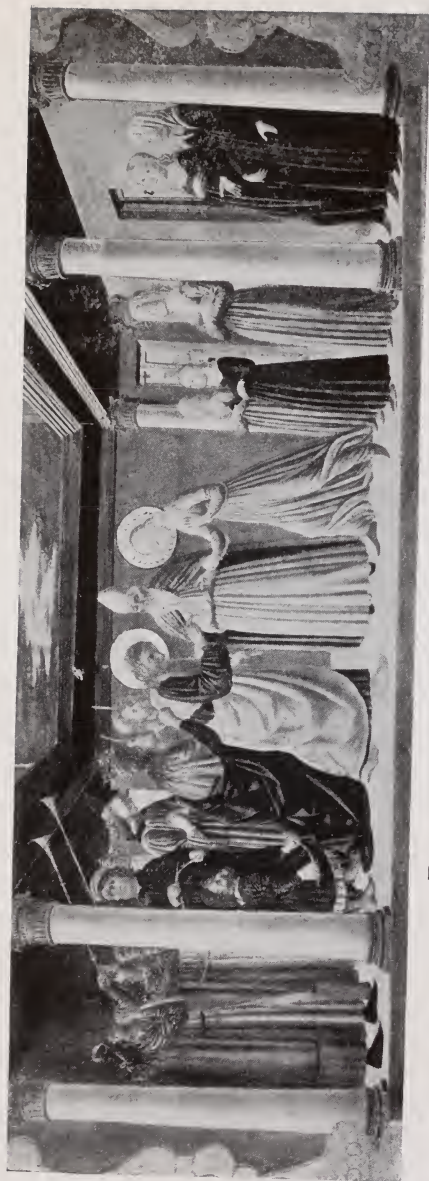


FIG. 38. BOCCATI: MARRIAGE OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN
Collection of Mr. B. Berenson, Settignano

remained throughout the entire Renaissance, produced during that period no other artist so backward. I will not speak of a later contemporary like Lorenzo di Alessandro of San Severino, but surely, if we were limited to that region, his own townsman Girolamo di Giovanni, or Antonio or Francesco di Gentile of the neighbouring Fabriano, would be far less unsuitable candidates than he for the honour of having painted our Salver.

IV

There is thus not only no excuse but no explanation for making, at this date, an attribution which is as wrong from the point of view of learning as it is from the point of view of æsthetic appreciation. But let us now leave behind us both the comprehensible error of having more than twenty years ago ascribed this Salver to Matteo, and the absurdity of attributing it now, in the full light of our knowledge, to Boccatis. We are ready for the last lap of our road—it has been tedious enough, I fear—which will consist of the attempt to demonstrate that its real author must have been an artist very close to Cossa. Now that we have cleared away the rubbish heaps that have barred the path—how much one might achieve if one did not have to waste so much of life carting away the rubbish piled up by oneself and others!—the task will be neither very long nor very difficult. The only difficulty, indeed, arises from the sheer obviousness of the conclusion, for to “tell the clock by algebra” is not quite as easy as it is superfluous.

The character of the artist is already known to us, and I need not make yet another attempt to define it. Besides, as I might be suspected of being prejudiced by the case I am now pleading, I am happy to be able to refer the reader to the pages I wrote of Tura, and Cossa and Ercole in my "North Italian Painters" eleven years ago. Those pages with slight changes apply to the painter of this Salver as well, for he is very close to all of them. But as he is nearly the peer of the first two, we shall not expect his designs to be composed of bits plagiarized from them. This kind of craftsman is the cheap and easy connoisseur's delight, but the real artist works only in the spirit of a school, and the resemblances between him and his fellows are not like those obtaining between silver pieces of the same denomination coined in the same year in the same mint.

We shall begin with the architecture. Although I cannot resist the impression that it was inspired by Leo Battista Alberti and that the temple of Solomon may be reminiscent of S. Andrea at Mantua or of some scheme for the completion of that sublime artist's master-work at Rimini—to me, mere fragment though it is, the most fascinating, the most satisfactory, and the most typical building of the whole Quattrocento—nevertheless, I can not help discovering the Northerner in general and the Ferrarese in particular in the proportions. We see it in the breadth of the door, in the heaviness and elaboration of the cornice, in the narrow parallel arches,⁵ in the drum over the choir and in the apses of the transept, in the volute and beans and pen-

⁵ So frequently depicted in Venice by the Vivarini.

dent beads over the corner of the choir façade, in the children over the door of the temple passing a string of beads to each other, in the careful indication of each block of the masonry, and in the ruined or unfinished wall above to the right. Many of these are ordinary Squarcionesque properties, modified and reduced to his purpose by the real artist that the author of this design must have been. To avoid the tedious repetition of the verb "compare" I invite the student to look through the illustrations to Tura, Cossa and their followers, as well as of their Squarcionesque precursors and fellow-pupils, that are to be found in Venturi's "*Storia*" (VII, 3).

A word next about the landscape. It is the bare flinty almost lunar world with which Ferrarese art, in this respect, as in others, intensifying and over-defining the Squarcionesque formula, has made us familiar.

And now for the figures: the women so haughty, so spirited, and so arch; the men a little stiffer and more ordinary but all tense—like children of the Renaissance with no Medieval vagueness or dreaminess clinging to them—you will encounter their like more or less anywhere in the still extant paintings of Tura, Cossa and their close followers. Only that our author, as compared with the masters themselves, gains in elegance and daintiness what he loses in substance and energy: for he is far thinner, and instead of exaggerating the round as they do, he tends to the silhouette.

Allowing for the differences just indicated, we find abundant parallels to his figures among the paintings of the Quattrocento Ferrarese, Cossa chiefly. It nat-

urally will occur to everybody to search for resemblances among the numberless personages in the Schifanoja Frescoes, and no one who looks will be disappointed, particularly with regard to the women. Translated into a heartier, quainter type, they occur constantly; but in the one fragment that I believe to have been painted by Cossa himself, representing a Race, the ladies looking on are as exquisite as in our composition, and besides wear the almost identical dresses (Figure 39). Similar women occur again in another autograph work of Cossa's, the Vatican *predella* (Figure 40), where the one to the left, wearing an apron, so closely resembles in everything except expression and head-dress the one on the extreme left in the Salver. The two youths whom we see conversing by the door of the temple are closely matched in the Schifanoja fresco of the "Triumph of Venus," particularly in the one so charmingly embracing his love (Figure 41). And as for the silhouette of the young man standing in the middle distance with his arms akimbo, his short jacket, tight-fitting hose and rat-tail feet, in the very attitude and aspect of a "nut" from the Court of Charles the Bold, he amounts to a sign manual of Cossa and his following. Look once more, for instance, at the other sections of Cossa's *predella* in the Vatican (Figures 42 and 43).⁶

Coming to minuter details, it will have been noticed that several of the ladies and gentlemen wear elabo-

⁶ In Central Italy to my recollection this exact species of Burgundian "nut" occurs only in the S. Bernardino panels at Perugia, and with especial fidelity, in the one representing the "Revival of a Dead Child" (Venturi, *Storia*, VII, 2, fig. 362).

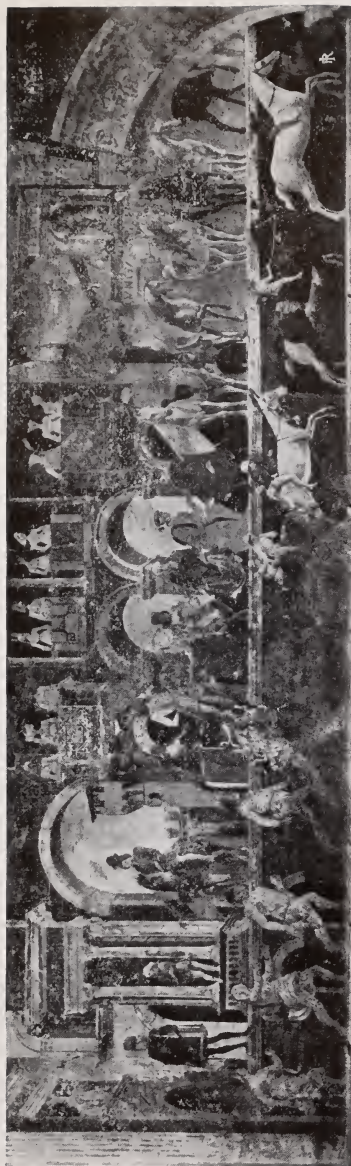


FIG. 39. COSSA: A RACE
Part of a Fresco in Schifanoia Palace, Ferrara



FIG. 40. COSSA: PART OF A PREDELLA
Vatican Gallery, Rome

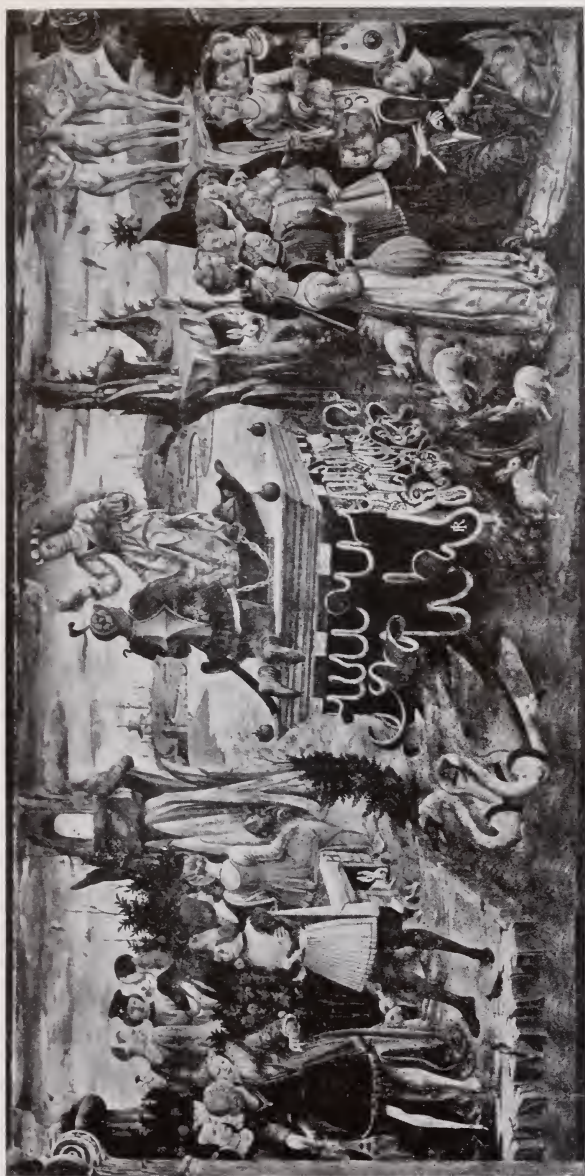


FIG. 41. COSSA STUDIO: TRIUMPH OF VENUS
Part of a Fresco in Schifanoia Palace, Ferrara

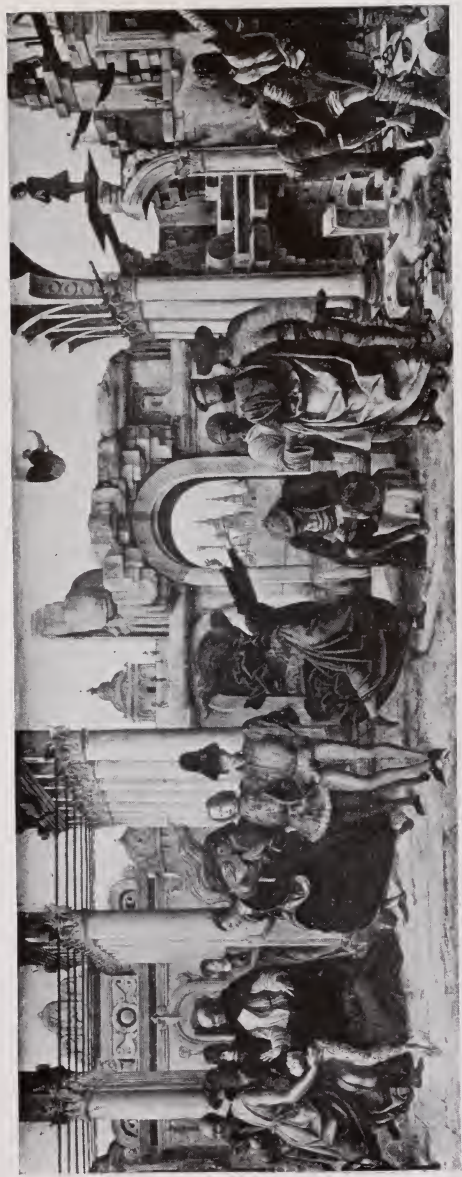


FIG. 42. COSSA: PART OF A PREDELLA
Vatican Gallery, Rome



FIG. 43. COSSA: PART OF A PREDELLA
Vatican Gallery, Rome



FIG. 44. COSSA: THE BAPTIST
Brera, Milan



FIG. 45. CLOSE FOLLOWER OF TURA AND COSSA: A BISHOP
Collection of the late Theo. M. Davis, Newport, U. S. A.

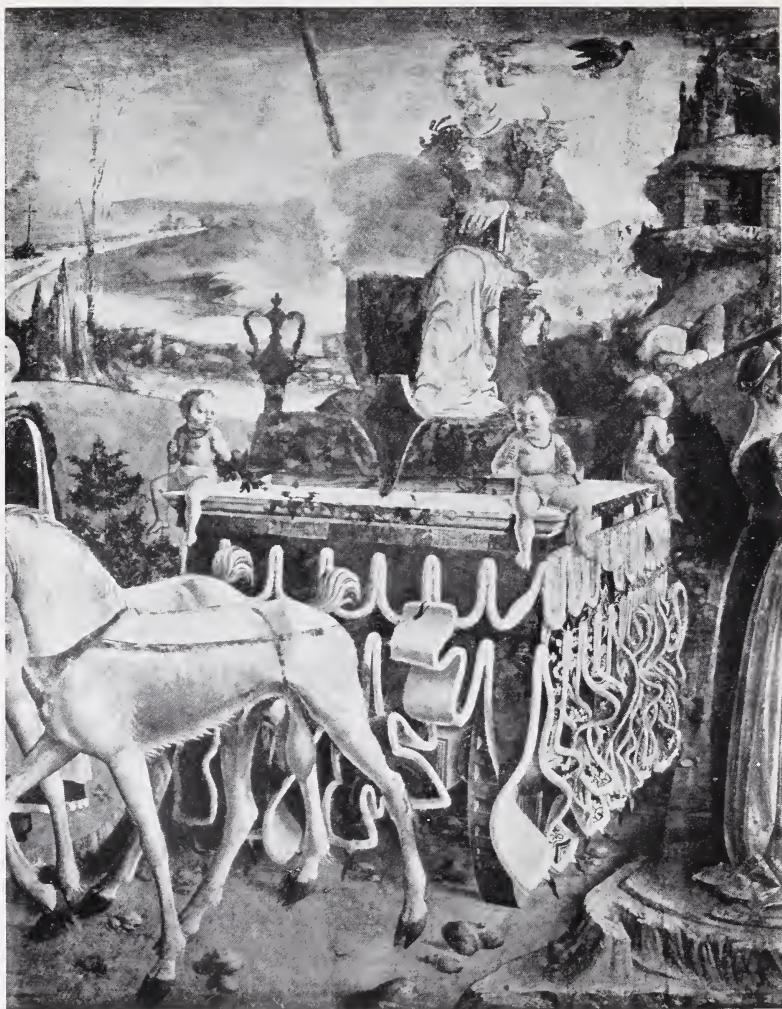


FIG. 46. COSSA STUDIO: THE TRIUMPHAL CAR OF MINERVA
Part of a Fresco in Schifanoia Palace, Ferrara

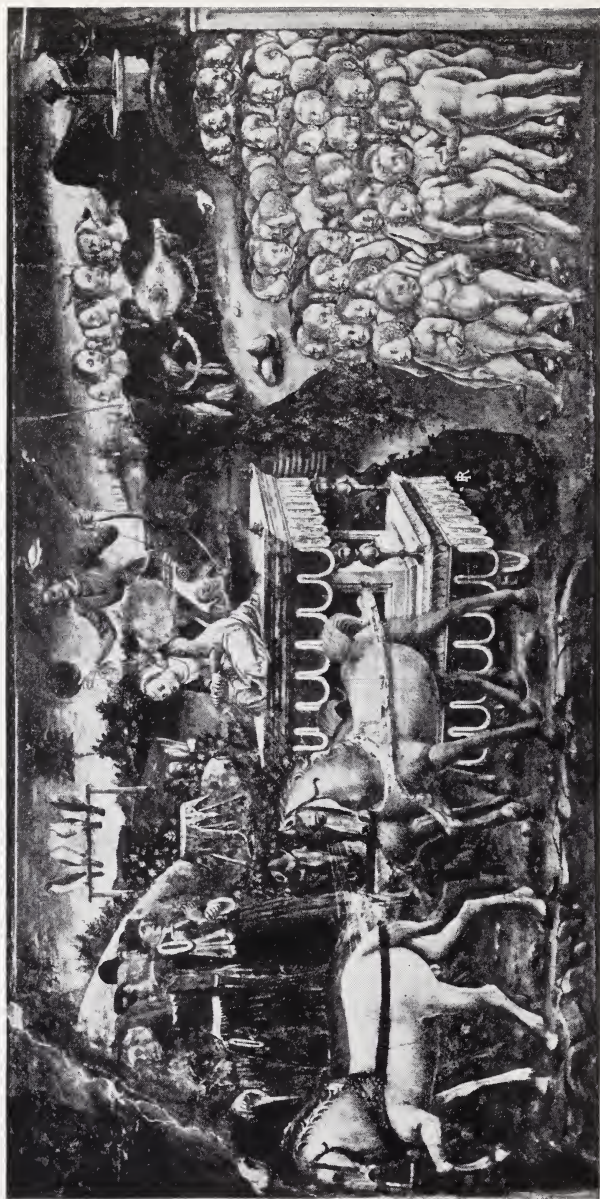


FIG. 47. COSSA STUDIO: PUTTI ATTENDING THE TRIUMPH OF APOLLO
Part of a Fresco in Schifanoia Palace, Ferrara

rately folded turbans. Now the turban was much affected in and near Venetia. Cossa's Vatican *predella* shows a number. Girolamo da Cremona, too, affects them, and handed on the taste for them to Matteo di Giovanni, who uses them frequently. Another detail is not without interest. The beards are combed so as to curl in from each side toward the middle. It is a rare enough fashion to deserve mention, and I doubt whether it occurs in Central Italy. Cossa's "Baptist" (now in the Brera) shows it exaggerated to two cork-screws (Figure 44).

The draperies, as best seen in the Queen of Sheba, tend, as in Tura and Cossa, to cling to the salient parts of the figure, which it is their function to render as firm and hard as flint. A good parallel is furnished by the painting of a Bishop due to some close follower of Tura and Cossa in the collection of the late Mr. Theo. M. Davis of Newport, R. I. (Figure 45).

Now I have to speak of the three children over the door of the temple, and of the winged small boy on the back of the Salver, and then my tale will be told.

The three children are of the same sturdy, chunky kind, of nearly the same type, expression and proportions that we find in numbers among the Schifanoja frescoes, particularly those on the triumphal car of Minerva (Figure 46), and the half frightened creatures attending the "Triumph of Apollo" (Figure 47). In Cossa's autograph works, as in the Vatican *predella* (Figure 40), we find a type that is almost identical.⁷

⁷ Compare also the children on the pediment of the throne in Tura's Berlin altarpiece (Venturi's *Storia*, VII, 3, fig. 396).

And the resemblances are not less with the winged boy holding the cornucopias. I can but express astonishment that at this day any one should fail to recognize at a glance the Tura-Cossesque character of his squarish face, his sturdy build, the shape of his ear. The cornucopias have mouldings of the precise and severe kind found among all the Squarcioneschi. An interesting parallel to these mouldings may be seen in the throne of Tura's National Gallery Virgin Annunciate (Figure 48).

I wish I could go further, and say more about the artist who painted this beautiful Salver. But as yet I do not know who he is, and I am not sure that I am acquainted with any other work by him. I have my suspicions, and if they are realized, then there will be another article about the author of this masterpiece.



FIG. 48. TURA: VIRGIN ANNUNCIATE
National Gallery, London

GUIDOCCIO COZZARELLI AND MATTEO
DI GIOVANNI

WHEN a new taste takes possession of us, the enthusiasm and glamour it engenders towards everything within its field blind us to distinctions. At first it is the kind, the class, the type that attract. Only when the romance of novelty has vanished does the difficult art of seeing come into play, training its adepts little by little to the less facile and overwhelming, but more virile and intellectual satisfaction derived from the exercise of the critical faculties.

During the last fifty years, taste has successively discovered or rediscovered many manifestations of art:—Assyrian, Japanese, Early Egyptian, Early Babylonian, Cretan, Chinese before Ming, Earlier Islamitic and medieval Persian, Indian and Khmer before 1600, not to speak of barbarous or barbarized arts like Scythian, Sassanian, those of the Runic North and those of Central America, of our own earlier Middle Ages, the savage arts of Africa and of the South Seas, or the Magdalenian marvels of Southern France and adjacent Spain.

Although the arts of the Italian Quattrocento were never quite so forgotten or unknown as these, yet, with a few rare exceptions, they were little appreciated.

Thus, in the Napoleonic years, although the interest in them was already reviving, a Guercino was valued at 30,000, a Baroccio at 45,000 and a Carracci at 100,000 francs, but a Botticelli at only 1500 francs.

What a Sieneſe painter would have fetched we do not know, for the reaſon, apparently, that the queſtion never came up. Little over a hundred years ago, the pre-hiſtoric frieſcoes in the cave of Altamira were ſcarcely leſs preſent in the minds of people than the maſter-pieces of the Sieneſe fifteenth century. No other of the great Italian ſchools took ſo long coming to its own. This event is, in fact, ſo recent that we have ſcarcely recovered from the “wild ſurmiſe” which poſſeſſes the mind of the pioneer or conquiſtador even *in minimis*. The more creditable then, that we are already beginning to train our eyes to diſtinguiſh delicate differences not only of kind but of quality. No longer for us is every Neroccio, every Matteo, every Benvenuto of equal value, as is every Rembrandt for the recent converts from the adoration of Jahve to the worſhip of Wotan. We begin to employ, in the new field of Sieneſe art, the methods that have in the laſt generation proved ſo ſucceſſful in other ſchools of art ſcholarſhip, attempting to diſcern where the hand of the apprentice betrays itſelf, venturing even to diſcriminate where it worked under the maſter’s ſtrict control, and where in free-handed imitation.

Students of other recently diſcovered maniſeſtations of art, if they did not ignore our activities, might well envy us. For we enjoy an advantage over them, in that we have the lead and ſpur of perſonality to ſtimulate

and direct us. Every artistic personality tends like a magnet to attract, and repels with a force almost as mysterious. In the impersonal epochs, that inspiration is wanting, and enthusiasm, instead of being succeeded by careful and considered sifting, is apt to be followed by a neglect which buries the masterpieces along with the rubbish.

This misfortune is much less likely to overwhelm the more recent arts in which dominating figures are readily discovered. All that is needed is, as it were, to free them from the various parasitical and dependent growths which hide their clear aspect. The task is thus an inspiring one to which I always turn with pleasure. In the following pages I propose to make an effort to differentiate more clearly than has been done hitherto between the painter of widest range, greatest variety and largest enterprize of the Sienese Quattrocento—I mean Matteo di Giovanni—and his ablest apprentice and closest follower, Guidoccio Cozzarelli.

Although twenty years of study devoted to these masters, their contemporaries, and their relations to each other now lie behind us, that time has been none too long to bring us to the point when the attempt to distinguish between the one and the other may hope to be successful. For it takes a great deal of time to settle the confusion of judgment due to the glamour of novelty. Nor even then is criticism at the end of its difficulties. When finally we wake up to distinctions of spirit and quality in the works that a too indiscriminate enthusiasm for a newly revealed artist has ascribed to him, we are tempted to go too far in the opposite direc-

tion, and to deny his authorship in every creation that stirs doubt. But this will not do. We must wait attentively until his personality asserts itself and becomes known to us in all its manifestations; until, in other words, by mental processes which are nearly identical in all higher scholarship, we have arrived at a canon. Then only are we likely to be right in including or excluding a given work on account of its inferiority to, or divergence from the more frequent and constant types.

The task of distinguishing between Matteo and Cozzarelli has not been an easy one. It is true that there are a certain number of divergences, but these are so subtle that they become perceptible only after careful and prolonged attention. Cozzarelli's faces, for instance, tend on the one hand to look sweetish, or on the other to have a haughty or even cruel expression. His eyes are rather large and watery, and his colouring, less fused than Matteo's, is, to our new sense, more vivid and prettier. But the determining difference is one of quality. Thus, Cozzarelli's contours are stiffer, seldom rising above the mere outline; his drawing is not only more incorrect but more relaxed; the folds of his draperies are rarely functional, and his modelling is much flatter and more schematic. Were these differences striking, we should not have taken so long to conclude that some of the pictures I shall now speak of belong to him and not to Matteo. The differences are slight, but, if we learn to distinguish between them, they familiarize us with the peculiarities of each, and enable us to make a correct division of the works of two mas-



FIG. 49. COZZARELLI: MADONNA AND ANGELS
Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore, U. S. A.

ters hitherto confused to the disadvantage of both.

Matteo's artistic personality is by now sufficiently well established to require no further characterization here. Besides, I have recently had occasion to contrast him with his Ferrarese contemporaries, which gave an opportunity for insisting upon certain traits of his style that had not been quite sufficiently studied.¹ I venture, therefore, to assume adequate acquaintance with his art for the purposes of this article. It is Cozzarelli in the phases closest to Matteo whom we shall seek to know better.

II

The most interesting case is that of the "Madonna with two Angels" formerly in the Palmieri-Nuti palace at Siena, and now in the collection of Mr. Henry Walters of Baltimore (Figure 49). In the exhibition of 1904 it was perhaps the most admired of all the "Madonnas" ascribed to Matteo. Adolfo Venturi reproduces it in his *Storia* as one of the three illustrations he devotes to that master; and so recently as nine years ago, when I was preparing the second edition of my "Central Italian Painters," it had not yet occurred to me to doubt it. I am not aware at the present moment that its authenticity has ever been questioned. Yet now it suddenly seems obvious that Cozzarelli painted it. As in the case of so many things that remain totally unsuspected until the moment of discovery comes, we can only wonder how we failed to see it before!

¹ See in this volume "A Ferrarese Marriage-Salver in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts."

It is, perhaps, as fascinating as any of Matteo's pictures. It has charming pattern and pleasing colour, and the Madonna attracts us by a look of distinction, of pride even, that happens to be combined with lassitude and despondency. The Child's peevish aspect is so unexpected as to become interesting. The mood these faces convey to us resembles what we feel before certain figures and compositions of Tura, Cossa and Ercole of Ferrara, although in this instance we can be nearly sure that the designer had no intention of communicating any mood whatever. His purpose was probably only the modest one of imitating as best he could the Madonnas that his master, Matteo, was painting about 1480. The effect of shrinking pride and listless disdain, with a conceivable turn for cruelty, that we find in this Virgin and Child is very likely accidental, due to nothing more sophisticated than the hardened and stiffened line, and flattened modelling of the inferior artist.

Let us compare it with the picture by Matteo which of all his extant works comes nearest to it, and may even have been present before Cozzarelli while designing it, the "Madonna" at Percena (Frontispiece). Perhaps if this panel had been shown at the Sieneſe exhibition of 1904 it would have opened our eyes then and there to the differences between the master and the pupil, as indeed, later on, it was the chief instrument in revealing them to me. But at that time it had only been discovered by that intrepid explorer in the field of Sieneſe art, Lucy Olcott.² Matteo never again is so

² *Rassegna d'Arte*. May, 1904.

supple, so fluent, so graceful, so refined as in this Percena "Madonna." Almost it would seem as if the spirit of Neroccio had breathed upon him and melted him into an unwonted charm and tenderness. But imagine the outlines sharper, and you quickly get the hard lids and the icy mouth which account for so much of the Madonna's look in the Cozzarelli. With a modelling less enveloping, you translate the quite ordinary Child of Percena into the sulky one here. With a stiffer touch, the soft curly locks of the one become the dry wisps in the other. And it is instructive to note how much more wooden are Cozzarelli's hands, although so plainly modelled on Matteo's, and how much drier the folds of his draperies. Compare those of the angels on our left in each of the pictures.

At this point the objection may be made that while the inferiority of the one painting to the other suffices to prove that they could not have been by the same hand, it does not yet follow that the harder, more rigid picture is by Cozzarelli, and not by some other follower of Matteo, like Pacchiarotto, Pietro di Domenico, Andrea di Nicolò, or some quite nameless person.

The answer is easy. None of the artists just mentioned stand so close to Matteo as does Cozzarelli here and everywhere else. Furthermore, apart from the many works that have been ascribed to him, we have a number which are authenticated by signatures, documents, or unbroken tradition. We thus are able to distinguish him from all other pupils of the master. His qualities and mannerisms constitute a well defined artistic personality and the "Madonna" in question is

so decidedly within his canon, that she is beyond dispute his, and no other's. In the well known work of 1482, the "Madonna enthroned with Jerome and another Saint at her feet" (Siena Academy 367), Cozzarelli's earliest dated painting, the hands have the identical character of those in Mr. Walters' picture. The same is true of his altarpiece of 1486, in S. Barnardino at Sinalunga, a work which also offers us in the weak open mouth of the Madonna a parallel to that of the angel on the right in ours. The pouting, cruel Child is matched in another altarpiece at Paganico distressingly ruined, but so important for the study of Cozzarelli that I reproduce it here (Figure 50).³ The Virgin's face in our picture tends already to the fuller oval of frequent occurrence in his paintings, as, for instance, the angel's on the right in the last named work, or in the two "Madonnas" at Milan reproduced in the *Rassegna d'Arte* for May, 1916. But the most clenching proof is furnished by the "Baptism" at Sinalunga (Figure 51), where the three angels show resemblances of type, expression, hands, folds, hair, etc., etc., so close that it would be tedious to enumerate them. Indeed, identities of such a nature could only occur in designs produced at the same moment. That moment, by the way, could not have been at any great remove from 1480, as may be inferred from the date of Matteo's works which inspired these of Cozzarelli.

³ The types of the angels and the unusual gaiety of the colouring must have been the cause of my ascribing this painting, when I first saw it some ten years ago, to Andrea di Nicolò. It is true that nowhere else do the fellow-pupils come so near each other, but I soon saw my error. Meanwhile Mr. Perkins recognized that it was by Cozzarelli.



FIG. 50. COZZARELLI: MADONNA AND SAINTS
Paganico (Grosseto)



FIG. 51. COZZARELLI: THE BAPTISM
S. Bernardino Sinalunga



FIG. 52. COZZARELLI: MADONNA AND ANGELS
Collection of the late George A. Hearn, New York, U. S. A.



FIG. 53. MATTEO DI GIOVANNI: MADONNA, SAINTS AND ANGELS
Contrado della Selva, Siena



FIG. 54. COZZARELLI: THE NATIVITY
At Paris dealer's in 1910

Yet another "Madonna" by Cozzarelli which has hitherto passed for Matteo's is the one which I saw several years ago at the late Mr. George A. Hearn's in New York (Figure 52). I suspect that before it was sugared down by restoration, it had more resemblance to the Walters "Madonna" than it shows at present, for it must have been painted but little later and been suggested by an original of Matteo's dating from the same years, some such a one as the latter's work in the parish of the Contrada della Selva (Figure 53).

The loss of distinction incurred by Cozzarelli is too manifest for comment. It is, however, not superfluous to point to the drier, more wooden effect of the whole, due mainly to stiffer line, and less supple drawing. But most noticeable of all is the far less enveloped and therefore much harder modelling. It is instructive to observe how easy it is to realize the nude form under the draperies of the one and how impossible under those of the other. That we are in the presence of a design by Cozzarelli is vouched for by the type and expression, as well as by the weedy hair of the angels.

My colleagues will not resent it, if I take this occasion to introduce to them a panel by Cozzarelli which I saw at a Paris dealer's in 1910, but have not seen again (Figure 54).

It is a "Nativity," of the strangest colour, very vivid ashen green, with striking blues, all as if seen under lime-light. The incident is quaintly presented, with its shepherds, so eager to adore, yet never glancing at the Infant they have come to worship, its didactic Jos-

eph, its toppling architecture, and its romantic—I may add consciously romantic—landscape. The naïveté of the whole is so refreshing, the world evoked so young, that I, for one, cannot help preferring it greatly to most Florentine or Umbrian parallels of much more strictly artistic qualities as, for instance, Sellajo's or Pintoricchio's. At the same time, this "Nativity" has the interest of an epitome. It reveals Cozzarelli so comprehensively that, by itself, it would suffice to teach us to know him in every phase. Acquaintance with it will help us to assign to him some *cassone*-fronts which, in so far as they were known at all, have hitherto been ascribed to Matteo.⁴

III

Before speaking of the *cassone*-fronts, I wish to mention the part of a *predella* in the Vatican Gallery representing St. Barbara addressing the builders of the tower in which she is to be imprisoned (Figure 55). I suspect that it may originally have served as a portion of the base for Matteo's "St. Barbara" altarpiece at S. Domenico, dating from 1479. In that case, it would be one of Cozzarelli's earliest efforts, painted while still with his master; for that it is by Cozzarelli is attested by the uncertainty of the line everywhere. Vagueness naturally manifests itself most clearly where the eye seizes it most readily, in the architecture. This

⁴ Most of the works that follow have already been ascribed in the two editions of my "Central Italian Painters" first to Matteo and then with a certain confusion to Guidoccio. Doubtless they are all treated by Dr. Schubring, but this scholar's work is up to now unknown to me, as, since the beginning of the war, I have had no access to German publications!!!



FIG. 55. COZZARELLI: ST. BARBARA
Vatican Gallery, Rome





FIG. 56. COZZARELLI: CAMILLA AND HER COMPANIONS IN BATTLE WITH AENEAS
The J. G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, U. S. A.

has none of the almost Mantegnesque precision which belongs to Matteo's buildings, but is as feeble as we found it in the "Nativity." We note the same tendency to a toppling structure with perspective absurdly bad.

To turn now to the *cassone*-fronts, the one that comes nearest to Matteo himself is a panel in the J. G. Johnson collection at Philadelphia, which represents Camilla and her companions in battle with Æneas (Figure 56). The composition is so linked and articulated, the action so spirited, the expression so well conceived, that it does seem as if Matteo must have invented the design and left the execution only to the assistant. One can even point to the moment when the master conceived it. It must have been just before he achieved that most remarkable of his successes, and, from a certain point of view, the most remarkable design of the whole Sienese Quattrocento, his "Massacre of the Innocents" of 1481, on the pavement of the Siena Cathedral. But the execution leaves much to be desired. It is vague, uncertain, tremulous, and, in so far as the difference of subject admits of resemblance, bit by bit, like Cozzarelli's "Madonna with Saints" in the Palmieri-Nuti Palace (Photo. Alinari 18924, reproduced in *Les Arts*, October, 1904).⁵

In the Metropolitan Museum panel, on the other hand, I find no convincing trace of the master's genius. In this work representing Roman heroines swimming

⁵ The present whereabouts of the companion piece of identical style and quality, like this formerly in the collection of the late Mr. Charles Butler of London, is unknown to me. It represents Metabus fleeing from Priverinum and throwing his child Camilla across the river Amasenus (Photo, New Gallery, 1893-4. No. 148).

the Tiber (Figure 57), Cozzarelli seems to have been left to his own devices. The facial types reveal the apprentice as do the awkward movements, the feeble line, and the rather freakish architecture. This, which, by the way, should be compared in detail with a miniature in one of the Siennese choir books, representing a procession going into a church (Photo. Lombardi, Siena 127) betrays the direct or indirect influence of Girolamo da Cremona, as does even more markedly the woman in profile looking back as she steps under the gate. Another point to be noted is that Cozzarelli so late as 1480 or thereabouts, and living so near to Rome as Siena, knew of Castel S. Angelo, which he means to depict in the middle distance, by verbal description only. He evidently had never seen even a drawing of it.

Two other *cassone*-fronts of interest to us are exhibited at the Cluny Museum in Paris (Figure 58). They recount the return of Ulysses. Although they are still very close to Matteo, I venture to believe that no student of Siennese art would nowadays ascribe them to him, for to such a student they are clearly stamped with the pupil's mannerisms, faults and characteristics. They are delightful nevertheless, for they are unaffected, pretty and amusing. Here again the influence of Girolamo da Cremona is manifest. I see it in the Roman character of the architecture with its triumphal arches, amphitheatre and elaborately coffered vaultings, crowded together in a fashion common enough in Girolamo da Cremona and his Northern contemporaries, but quite unusual in the paintings of Central

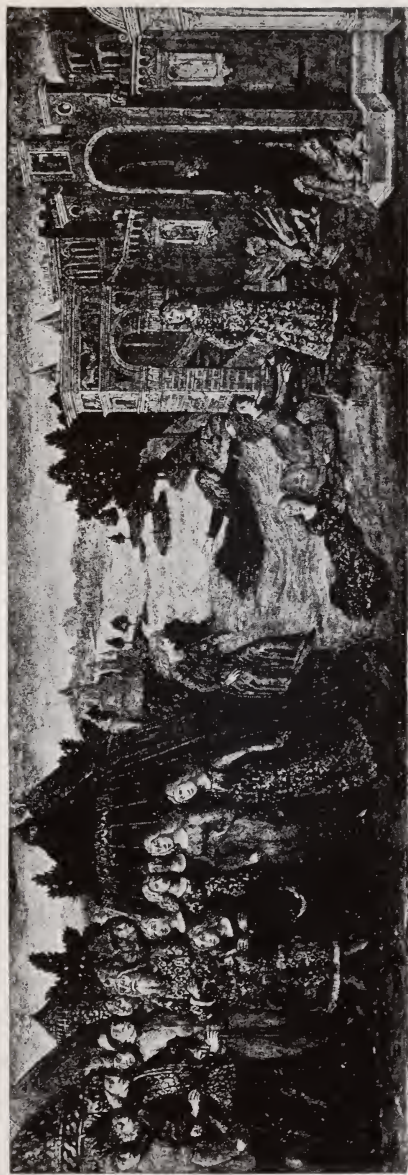


FIG. 57. COZZARELLI: ROMAN HEROINES SWIMMING THE TIBER
Metropolitan Museum, New York, U. S. A.



FIG. 58. COZZARELLI: THE RETURN OF ULYSSES
Cluny Museum, Paris





FIG. 59. COZZARELLI: MIRACLE OF THE MADONNA
Archives, Siena



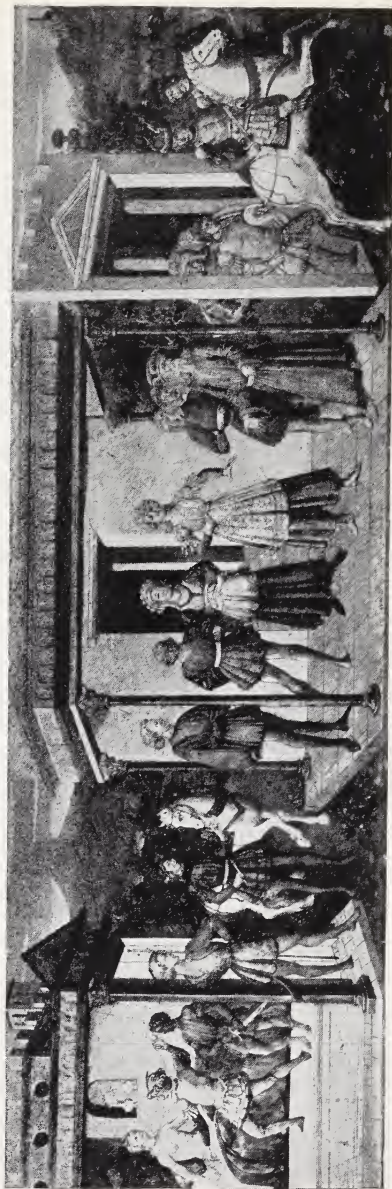


FIG. 60. COZZARELLI: STORY OF LUCRETIA
Formerly at Messrs. Trotti & Co., Paris

Italy. I fancy, too, that such attitudes of looking back as we see in the horseman entering the gate, and in the boatman, are derived from the same source. The student before leaving these designs, is invited to make himself familiar with the shapes, forms and quality of their architecture, for this effort may remove from his mind any lingering doubts regarding the attribution of works already discussed.

One other *cassone*-front and I shall have done; but first I wish to draw attention to a *Biccherna* tablet in the Sienese Archives which does not seem hitherto to have been ascribed to Cozzarelli (Figure 59). It represents the Blessed Virgin, a stately figure, guiding a ship, in a stormy sea, toward land. It is a pretty and even poetical little picture, with its cloudlets, its distances, its cranes, and its Gothic—I was about to say Neo-Gothic—pile of buildings.

This is dated 1487, and here, too, we still remain close to Matteo. In the work I shall now mention, the last, Cozzarelli is seen at his farthest remove from his master, and “left to himself” in the mystical Quaker sense. Probably he painted it years later.

I saw it in 1912 at the Messrs. Trotti’s of Paris. It represents the “Story of Lucretia” (Figure 60). I shall not waste time proving the self-evident, namely, that Cozzarelli alone could have been responsible for this design. Nor do I feel called upon to play the too easy game of pointing out its many faults and absurdities. This, however, I will say: that the crudity of the interpretation, the vulgarity of the action and the dryness of execution anticipate the later performances of Giro-

lamo di Benvenuto, although Cozzarelli happily remains to the last too much of a Quattrocentist to sink quite so low as his younger rival.

There has been no intention in this article to exhaust the subject. Other interesting and typical works by this quite secondary yet fresh and homely Sienese are known. But as I have no photographs of them I leave it to others to publish them. Besides it is never my purpose to exhaust a field, in the sense of leaving no work by a master I am studying unmentioned. It suffices to exhibit him in his various phases, and that I believe I have, with regard to Cozzarelli, accomplished here. And if I have succeeded in this task, I shall also have relieved Matteo's fame of a series of works not worthy of him, and tending to confuse and weaken the outlines of his remarkable artistic personality.

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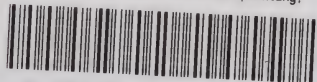
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